National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Service
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Service des thèses canadiennes

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-55603-X

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

KINSHIP, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE IN FORT RESOLUTION, N.W.T..

BY

LINDA C. DRIEDGER (C)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTERS OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Linda C. Driedger

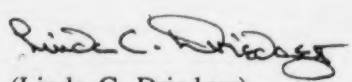
TITLE OF THESIS: Kinship, Marriage, and Residence in Fort Resolution, N.W.T..

DEGREE: Masters of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1989

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.



(Linda C. Driedger)

Box 3113
Athabasca, Alberta
TOG OBO

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Kinship, Marriage, and Residence in Fort Resolution, N.W.T. submitted by Linda C. Driedger in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts.

.....
(Supervisor)

.....

.....

.....

.....

Date: May 15, 1989

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines a persistent problem in Chipewyan kinship: kinship terminological variation. While subarctic specialists have collected widely differing types of kinship terminologies among the Chipewyan, they have presented one kind of terminology for each community studied. However, terminologies within the Dene communities vary from individual to individual. It is this individual variation which this thesis addresses.

The widely varying kinship terminology is due to the fact that the Chipewyan language is not defining kin in the same manner as English. The English language defines relatives according to a position on the family tree. Chipewyan defines certain relatives on the basis of co-residence and non-residence. This social definition of kin results in a great deal of individual variation due to the fact that kinship terms are collected and analyzed by anthropologists in accordance with the concept of a family tree.

This work also addresses issues of marriage such as endogamy versus exogamy. Subarctic specialists have also differed on whether the Chipewyan and other Dene people are endogamous, and marry within a specified group; or exogamous, and marry outside a specified group. This thesis argues that the Chipewyan speakers of Fort Resolution are exogamous to locality, and this practice is consistent with the terminological variation.

I also examine other issues related to kinship such as kinship and politics, and changes in marriage practices and kinship language usage in Fort Resolution. I also discuss the theoretical implications of the results of this work for anthropology in

general, and kinship studies among bilateral societies specifically.

The kinship terminology used by the elderly Chipewyan speakers of Fort Resolution defines relatives on a social basis. This social basis is residence. Relatives are called different kin terms dependent on where they live relative to where their relatives live. This language clearly marks who is and who is not related, and who is and who is not marriageable. This feature of the Chipewyan language allows local exogamy to be maintained with minimal marriage rules, and no residence rules; and makes bilaterality uncomplicated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completion of this thesis would not be possible without the support of many people, and their support is gratefully acknowledged. The people who made the most significant contribution to this thesis are the families and the elders of the community of Fort Resolution. Special thanks to M.L.A. Don Morin and Gladys Morin, and their family who welcomed my family into their home and their lives for the summer of 1988; and also to my translator, Mary Pierrot, who worked hard and whose sense of humour was welcomed wherever we went. I also thank the Community Council of Fort Resolution particulary Chief Robert Sayine, and community manager Cecil Lafferty for their co-operation with this project. The co-operation of the Dene Nation and the community of Snowdrift is also acknowledged.

The help and advice of many people in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alberta is greatly appreciated. My own Arnolphe, Michael Asch, inspired this project and provided me with many memorable experiences and suggestions. Greg Forth and Ruth Gruhn spent hours editing and reading this work, and their unwavering support of this project can never be adequately acknowledged, my thanks to both of you. I also would like to thank Regna Darnell, Rod Wilson, and Cliff Hickey for raising key points at precisely the right moment.

My gratitude is extended to Jean-Guy Goulet for his expertise, advice, and good medicine; and to John Wayne (who is alive and well, and living in Athabasca) for his belief in truth, justice, and beauty. My thanks to June Helm, Scott Rushforth,

and David M. Smith for answering my enquiries. My special thanks to David M. Smith who provided me with one of the key pieces to the puzzle.

I owe a great debt to my husband, Peter Driedger, who carried the burden of mundane duties not only during the fieldwork portions of this thesis but during the entire degree program. I could not have done it without his generosity and support.

This project was funded by the Boreal Institute of Northern Studies through a Northern Studies and Training Grant.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND LITERATURE REVIEW	5
I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION	6
The Dene	6
Fort Resolution (**Deninoo**)	6
Ethics and Licensing Requirements	8
Linguistic Information	9
Field Method	10
Literature on the Subarctic	13
Multilingualism	16
Kinship Language: Some Background Information	17
The Varying Relationship Terminology	19
II: KINSHIP LITERATURE	26
A Short Review of the Kinship Literature	26
Another Point of View	29
A Short Explanation of Componential Analysis	30
III: KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES AS FORMAL LANGUAGE	37
Linguistic Reanalysis	38
Problems of Method in the Literature	52
SECTION II: THE CONTEXT	55
IV: MARRIAGE, RESIDENCE, AND GROUPS IN DENINOO	56
Marriage: a Definition	56
Reasons for Marriage	56
Justifiable Reasons for Divorce	57
Marriage: the Topic and Interest in the Topic	58
Types of Marriage	60
Exogamy	62

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
IV: MARRIAGE, RESIDENCE, AND GROUPS IN DENINOO	56
Community and Residence	64
The Métis-Dene Division	68
V: MARRIAGE, RESIDENCE, AND CHIPEWYAN TERMINOLOGIES	73
Relationship Terminology and Marriage	73
The Problem of sɛla	78
A Redefinition of Chipewyan Kinship Terminology	82
The Relation of Sɛla and sɛtɛ	84
What Kind of Terminology is This?	88
A story on Kinship, Residence, and Power	91
VI: CONSEQUENCES OF KINSHIP AND IMPLICATIONS FOR DENINOO	93
The Problem of the Third Terminology	94
Residence and Violence	96
Kinship and Violence	97
Structurally Weak Positions	97
Kinship and Politics	97
VII: CONSEQUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ANTHROPOLOGY	103
The Problem of the Definition of Kinship	103
Problems of Method	104
Analytical Problems	105
The Problem of Order and Sequence	106
Structural Theory and Bilateral Societies	107
Similarities and Differences	110
CONCLUSION	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	115
APPENDIX	130
Table I Chipewyan Kin Terminology in the literature	128
Table II Chipewyan Kin Terms: Componential analysis	131

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
APPENDIX	127
Table III Kin Term Paradigms by Author	140
Table IV Components by Author	142
Table V Rushforth's Data: Componential analysis	143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Map of Northwestern Canada	7
2	Phonetic alphabet	9
3	Kin type notation	10
4	Extent of investigation of kin types	12
5	Chipewyan kin types	17-18
6	An alternate dialect: the differences	19
7	Alternate kin terminologies one and two	19-21
8	Alternate kin terminology three	22
9	An historic terminology	23-24
10	Plurals for kin terms	24
11	Additional terms for kin	24
12	Kinship terminology typologies	28
13	Symbolic notation for componential analysis	32
14	MacNeish (1960) redrawn	39
15	Smith (1982) redrawn in three steps	40-41
16	Sharp (1977 and 1979) redrawn	43-44
17	Results of Rushforth's (1984) componential analysis	47
18	Kin Term paradigm based on the reconstruction Rushforth's (1984) data	48
19	Linguistic dimensions used to produce Figure 18	48

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
20	Historic settlements	66
21	A map of **Deninoo**	69
22	An example of delayed exchange	75
23	A simplified explanation of: "he was my cousin, **sɛla**, but I called him **sonarɛ** before marriage, and **sɛtɛ** after marriage"	76
24	A redefinition of Chipewyan kin terms	82-84
25	Dravidian logic and then some	88-89

INTRODUCTION

KINSHIP! WHY KINSHIP?

Kinship is the training ground and the terror of many students of anthropology. I have been confronted by the above statement so many times that it requires an answer. My mother, a persistent logician, always invented problems for her children. This was mine: Your grandmother's grandmother, Grandma Green, married three men. She had a passel of children from her first husband. When he died, she married a man named Green who had a passel of children of his own. They also had a passel of children, and they moved out West. The first Grandpa Green died, and Grandma Green married his son. Our family is from the third husband: how are you related to yourself?

This form of marriage would be considered shocking to the people who are the subject of this thesis. European communities were largely village-endogamous, and first cousin marriage was practiced throughout much of Europe (Gies and Gies, 1987:52). This thesis examines kinship terminology variability among Chipewyan speakers in Fort Resolution (**Deninoo**) N.W.T.. Kinship variability has been noted in the past among the Dene as a whole. Individual speakers will use highly divergent kinds of kinship classification schemes. In the past, this variance was thought to be linked with regional and linguistic differentiation among the Dene. However, these terminologies are in use at the community level, by people who have been raised entirely in the community; so the situation is that different people use different schemes to classify their kin.

These facts cause problems for the anthropologist. The use of different classification schemes on an individual basis does not seem to upset or confuse anyone within the community. When people are asked for an explanation for the simple fact "different people use different words to call their kin", the matter is different. When people are asked for an explanation, the answers will vary from, "they are terms of reference and terms of address" to "I don't know about other people". Other explanations include: those people are from somewhere else, they are wrong, or they are drunks. None of these answers explain, or only partially explain, the fact that different individuals classify their kin differently.

This situation causes a problem for social anthropologists, for they hold that kinship terms reflect reality; they are a part of language, and do symbolize relationships between people. Kinship terms are used to indicate and communicate a certain status or a certain relationship between people. In many societies they serve to communicate how one should act towards people who are called a particular term. In some societies kinship terms even mark whom one should and should not marry. Thus kinship terms often reflect the rules of society, and thereby reflect the structure of society.

Given that kinship terms reflect society, and the relationships between people, a remarkable problem like the kinship variation among the Dene should reflect a problem in reality. This point is where this thesis enters the discussion. This thesis argues that the problem in Dene kinship terminologies is only partially due to the system under investigation. It is also partially due to the way anthropologists have studied and analyzed kinship and kinship terminologies among the Dene.

This thesis begins with a section on the background information and literature concerning the problem. It examines past work in the context of the standard viewpoint held by the specialists in the Subarctic. It reviews the larger body of kinship literature, and reanalyzes some of the terminologies collected in the past. The reanalysis suggests that there are some basic problems in the methods used both to collect and analyze kinship terminologies.

This section concludes with the view that the problems in past work largely involve the analysis of the kin terminologies. Classification of the terminologies is often considered a goal, and the terminologies collected tend to be isolated to linguistics and genealogy. Hence there is a lack of contextual information. The reanalysis and literature review does suggest some context, but does not fully explain the problem. This is the point at which the fieldwork conducted in Fort Resolution (**Deninoo**) in the summer months of 1988 fits into this thesis. This work moves from the literature review to a description of kinship in **Deninoo**. On the basis of the descriptive data collected, the genealogies developed, and the work of other authors, I move to an explanation of the kinship terminology as it is used in **Deninoo**.

Briefly, the kinship terminology in question does not classify kin solely on the basis of genealogical relations, but also on the basis of social relations. In this case, co-residence and non-residence on a territorial basis is embedded in the meaning of the kin terms themselves. The kin terms work to define kin on the basis of residence; and this aspect clearly marks who should be called what, despite widely varying residence practices. This pattern has resulted in the widely varying kinship

terminologies recorded over the years by many authors.

In the case of **Deninoo**, kinship terminology is not a problem in reality. However, there are problems in kinship beyond terminology. These include problems involving marriage, violence, and self-government. All of these problems are related to kinship, and somewhat related to the abandonment of Chipewyan kin classification. I examine some of the problems, and suggest some possible solutions and preventative measures.

I then return to the problem of kinship terminology and the cause of the problem: the way anthropology deals with kinship, kinship terminologies, and social structure. I examine problems in analysis such as the problem of order and sequence, and more general problems such as working in bilateral societies.

SECTION I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This section addresses the background information on the Dene, and on Fort Resolution (**Deninoo**); and it presents information on the subarctic literature and what past authors have argued about Dene kinship.

In this section kinship is dealt with much as in introductory Anthropology textbooks. The definition of kinship is a:

> Relationship based on or modeled on the culturally recognized connection between parents and their children (and extended to siblings and through parents to more distant relatives), (Keesing, 1971: 559).

This definition is used to move from the standard use to defining kinship in a different manner in the next section. The use of this definition is necessary in this section to understand the presentations of the other Subarctic specialists reviewed here.

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Dene

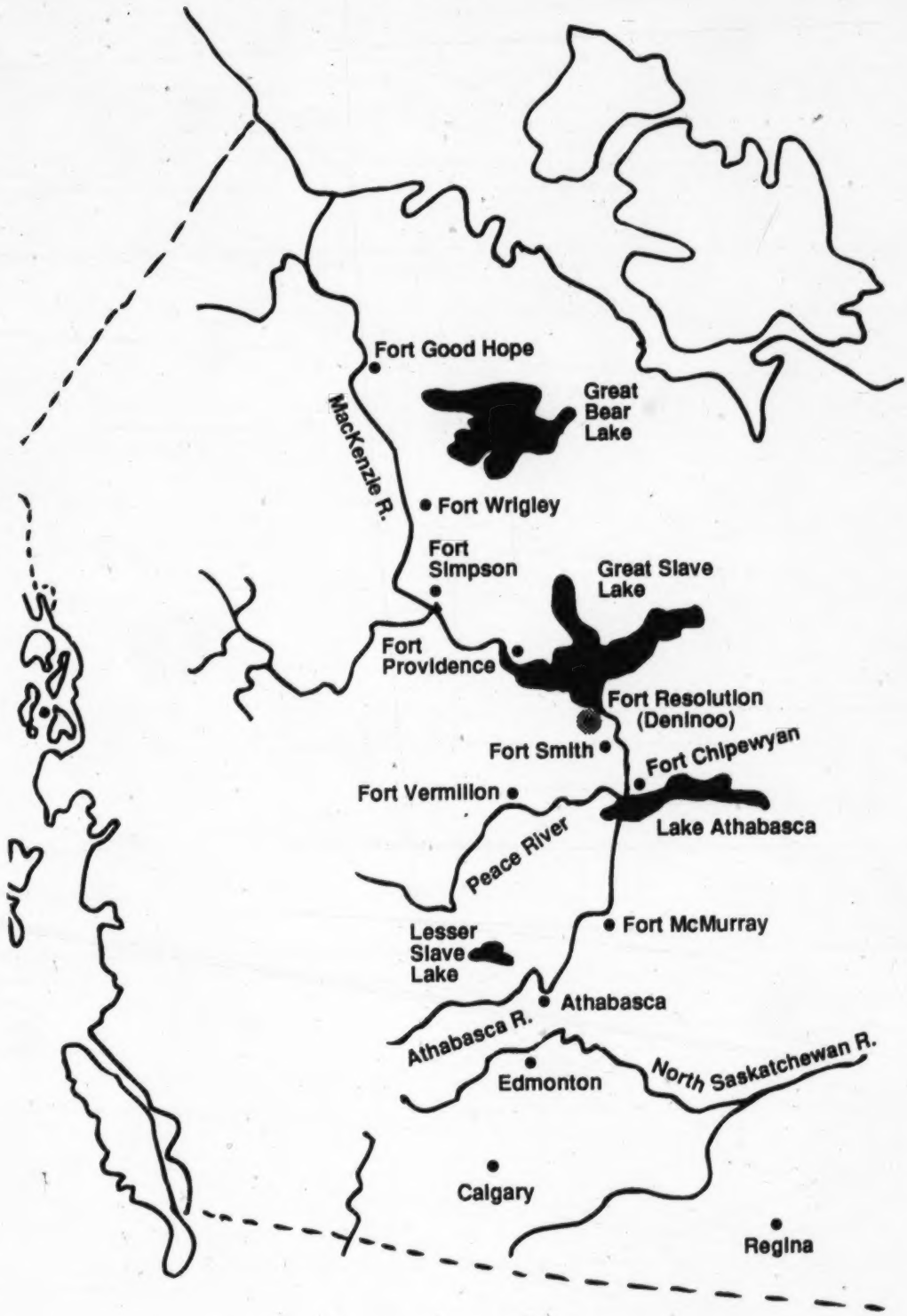
This thesis is concerned with kinship among the Dene, and kinship in one community. As such, it is based on both a review of the literature and fieldwork. For the purposes of this thesis the Dene are Athapaskan-speakers living in a territory covering northern Alberta, northern Saskatchewan, northern Manitoba, and in the Northwest Territories. This particular group of Dene can also be called MacKenzie Basin Dene. The Dene of the Northwest Territories call their land Denendeh, and their present political organization is the Dene Nation.

The MacKenzie Basin Dene as a whole are a bilateral society; they recognize both the male and female lines equally when calculating who is and who is not kin. The Dene of the Northwest Territories speak the Athapaskan languages known in English as: Hare, Slavey (North and South), Dogrib, and Chipewyan. It is Chipewyan in particular which concerns this thesis. The Chipewyan live in the southeastern Northwest Territories, northeastern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and northwestern Manitoba.

Fort Resolution (Deninoo)

The fieldwork portions of this thesis were carried out in Fort Resolution, N.W.T.. Fort Resolution is known in Chipewyan as **Deninoo** (see Figure 1, next page). **Deninoo** is located just west of the Slave River delta on the shore of Great Slave Lake. The community itself, has a long history by Canadian standards, and was the centre of Church administration and a transportation centre during the early 1900s. My fieldwork was carried out in the summer of 1988, from July 1st to

Figure 1: Map of Northwestern Canada



September 17th.

I chose Fort Resolution as the community in which to study for a variety of reasons. Approximately eleven years ago my husband and I lived in the Territories, and we travelled to the community to visit a friend. When it came time to choose a community for fieldwork Fort Resolution came immediately to mind. Fort Resolution has also been studied before (Smith, 1982; Deprez and Bisson,1975; Bodden, 1981); and this previous work was an advantage for this study.

Ethics and Licensing Requirements

In order to obtain a science license in the N.W.T., community permission must be given; it was granted by the **Deninoo** Community Council. The government body responsible for issuing science licenses is the Science Institute of the N.W.T., and its major concern is making the results of Northern research available to the people of the North. Although there has been some concern in the past with researchers in this community (Bodden, 1981), I had no difficulties gaining access to the community.

Under the ethics guidelines for both the University of Alberta and the government of N.W.T., anonymity and confidentiality must be ensured. In the remaining portions of this thesis names of informants and their relatives have been removed to conform with these regulations. Pseudonyms are not used in this study, as they are relatively easy to identify in a local context, and copies of this thesis are returning to **Deninoo**.

Linguistic information

Whenever Chipewyan terms are used in this thesis they will appear in **bold** print, and I have attempted to use a phonetic alphabet wherever possible. The phonetic alphabet is presented in Figure 2 next page. Unfortunately, the use of the phonetic alphabet is not always possible, as some authors have published their terminologies in nontechnical alphabets.

In the study of kinship there are notations which simplify how anthropologists talk about kin types[1]. The kinship notation used in this thesis is found in Figure 3 below.

Figure 2: Phonetic Alphabet and Nontechnical Equivalents

PHONETIC	NONTECHNICAL	PHONETIC	NONTECHNICAL
æ	ae	M	mh
ß	bh	N	nh
c	ts	ŋ	ng
č	ch	Ņ	ngh
δ	dh	ɛ	e
ɣ	gh	ɸ	ph
š	sh	W	wh
x	kh	Y	yh
ž	zh	?	'
a	aa	ą	an
k^y	ky	k^w	kw
θ	th	ϑ	tth

ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION

ŋ: thing	a: father	ow: boat	ɛ:bet
ey: wait	I: bit	u: book	æ:bat
uw: boot	ž: vision	i: beat	aw: bought
ai: sight			

(adapted from Helm 1981:xi).

[1] A kin type is a particular position on the genealogical grid (see Figure 4).

Figure 3: Kin Type Notation (adapted from Barnard and Good, 1984:4).

Kin type	Notation
father	F
mother	M
brother	B
sister	Z
son	S
daughter	D
husband	H
wife	W
parent	P
child	C
sibling	G
spouse	E
elder	e
younger	y
male speaker	ms
female speaker	fs

Field Method

In the past, the population of Fort Resolution has been divided into two communities: Treaty and Métis. However, as my goal was to describe kinship and marriage in Fort Resolution, I did not divide the population on this basis; rather, I chose to seek informants on the basis of generation (for genealogical depth), and on their ability to speak Chipewyan. I interviewed approximately 20 people with an interpreter, and interviewed six bilingual people on my own (26 people total). The interviews varied in formality; the interviews done with the interpreter were the more formal.

Each formal interview was conducted with an introduction of who I was, what I was doing, where copies of the research would be kept; an explanation that if the person did not want to answer any questions that was fine, and that they could stop

the interview anytime they wished. Then there was a series of questions on who their relatives are/were, where their relatives were from and are, and what they call these relatives in Chipewyan. The extent of the interview is represented in Figure 4, on the next page.

The redundant, repetitive nature of the genealogical enquiry did not seem to bother people. Judging from their answers, they understood the kinds of information I was looking for, and supplemented the formal portions with many relevant additional comments.

We concluded with a series of less formal questions on personal views of Fort Resolution, and marriage; and I always concluded with an open question on the old days. Often, after the interview, tea was offered; and some photos were brought. out to show me the people or things we had been talking about. Each person interviewed through the translator was given a small honorarium at the conclusion of the visit. Then the appropriate thank-yous were made, and we took leave.

During the interviews I took notes in my own peculiar shorthand; and on returning home in the evening, I wrote up the notes in separate hardcover notebooks. I limited the interviews to three a day. It is the hardcover notebooks which are cited here as Fieldnotes. There are two volumes of Fieldnotes. In this report I cite volume, date, and page number[2]. In addition to the raw field notes, and the written-up field notes, I kept a journal. Certain comments made in everyday conversation, and my observations on the fieldwork are found in my journal. When

---

[2] This style of fieldnote citation is suggested by Werner and Schoepfle (1987: 301-302).

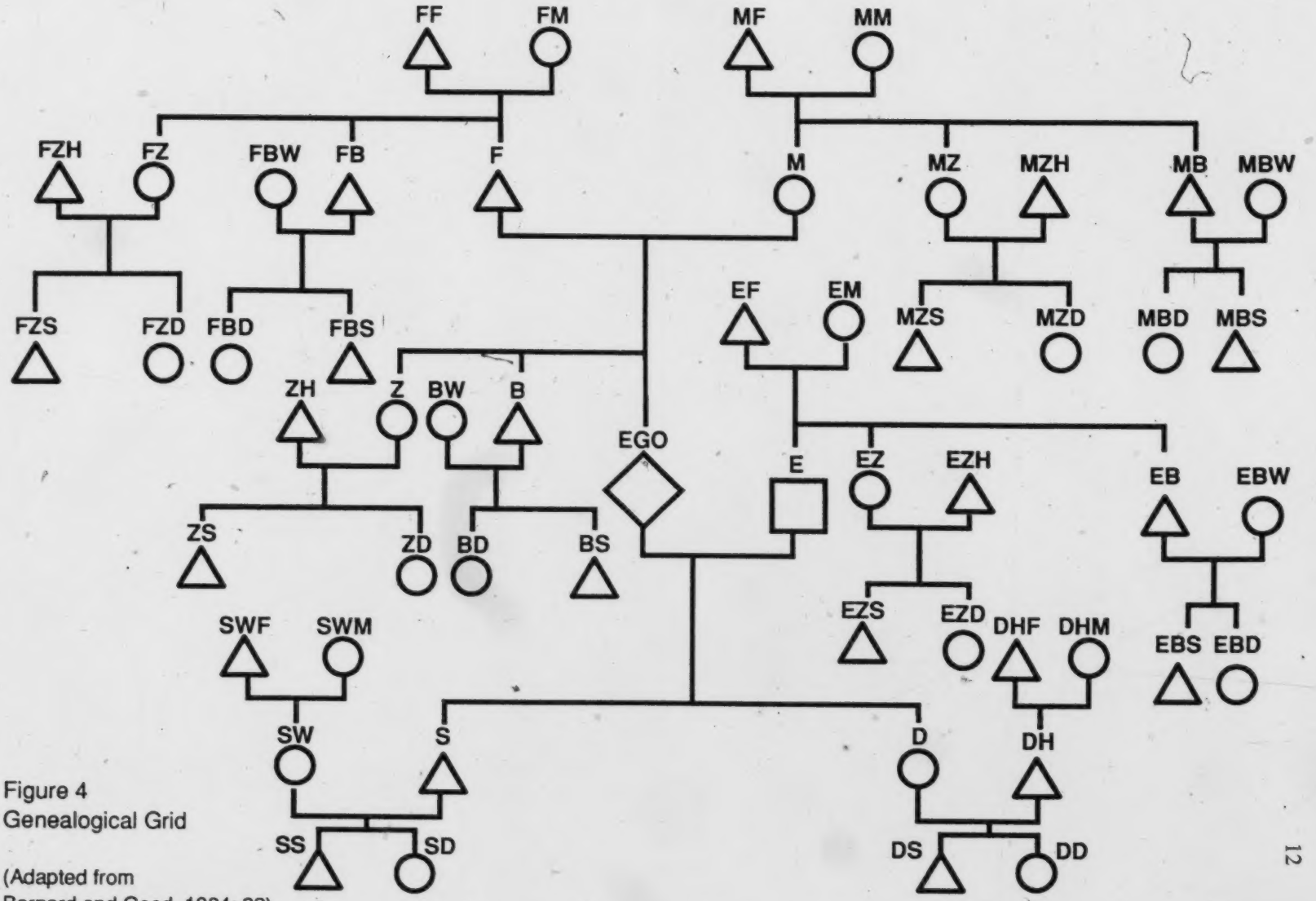


Figure 4
Genealogical Grid

(Adapted from
Barnard and Good, 1984: 32)

the journal is cited it will include only a date.

Literature on the Subarctic

In the past anthropologists treated Dene groups and languages as discrete entities; however, it now appears that the boundaries between groups both socially and linguistically are much more open than previously thought (Ives, 1985). Recent linguistic work suggests this group of languages should be treated as a language complex rather than as discrete languages (Ives, 1985). The speakers of this complex, exposed to a high degree of linguistic divergence, seem to expect to communicate across it (Krauss and Golla, 1981: 69).

Krauss and Golla state:

> Local dialects and languages are important as symbols of social identity, but the native expectation that these differences, even across relatively vast distances, will not be barriers to communication gives the Northern Athapaskan speaker a distinctively open and flexible perception of his social world (ibid: 69).

Thus while on a measure of linguistic divergence the Dene appear to use highly differentiated languages, the speakers of these languages accommodate the differences.

The specific problem of Dene relationship terminologies[3] actually begins with Henry Lewis Morgan (1966[1871]). In Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, Morgan writes:

> My time being extremely limited, I was neither able to accomplish the work in a satisfactory manner, nor to prosecute certain other inquiries necessary to

---

[3] In this work kinship terminologies or relationship terminologies refer to the entire set of terms of reference used to denote relatives; the kinship terminology is how speakers of any language classify their kin. Kin terms are the indigenous terms (designata) used to refer to relatives.

> my main design. This schedule [MacKenzie River Indians], therefore, as well as the one that follows [Red Knives], is given without being satisfied with its correctness (Morgan (1966[1871]): 236).

Perhaps the most enduring legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan is the dissatisfaction with the terminologies collected among the Dene.

June Helm's (1965) article "Bilaterality in the Socio-Territorial Organization of the Arctic Drainage Dene", remains the key article influencing the modern analysis of Dene social organization. In this article Helm borrows the concept of bilateral nodal kindred from Pehrson (1971), in order to explain the nature of kinship organization among the Dene. In addition to arguing the bilateral nature of Dene kinship, Helm argues that membership in Dene local groups is established through primary consanguinial or affinal connections; and the Dene rarely settle where there are no primary bonds. Local group membership is a temporary, flexible arrangement allowing mobility. She also proposes that endogamy is the norm for the Dene, and that the Dene do not show an exogamic-unilocal principle (Helm, 1965: 368).

Helm additionally proposes that in modern times, local groups are settlement-based; and regional groups are based on river systems. She then proposes the bilateral nodal kindred as a flexible method of forming alliances to deal with the environmental demands imposed by a Subarctic environment. The flexibility of the Dene kindred is emphasized.

While there are several works on kinship done since Helm, most authors have tacitly agreed with Helm's description of the nature of Dene kinship. However, in a later article Helm (1968) returns to the social organization of the Dene; and withdraws the endogamy argument. She states:

From the Dogribs, as with other MacKenzie Drainage Athapaskans, it is

> impossible to elicit "rules" regarding preferential marriage or local or regional band endogamy or exogamy (Helm, 1968: 121).

Both the inability to collect rules, and the works carried out demonstrating the conflict between de facto and de jure residence, leads Helm to argue:

> ... I submit that, for full comprehension of the economic and social dynamics of hunting societies and for cross-societal comparisons, the empirical patterns of post-nuptial residence, stable or shifting, demand as much attention as do formal "rules" of kin alliance and residence assignment (ibid: 125).

Helm (1968), then, favours an approach to social and economic organization based on actual residence and behaviour patterns, rather than on an analysis of the social rules[4].

On the basis of his field research among the Slavey of Wrigley, N.W.T., Asch (1980) argues that the Slavey are local group exogamous, and unilocal. He argues that a rule of unilocal residence exists among the Slavey; and this rule states that same-sex siblings should reside together, and siblings of the opposite sex should marry out. Hence, all that is required to fulfill this rule is that the residence group sees itself made up, in the main, of a group of men who call each other brothers married to a group of women who call each other sisters (Asch, 1980: 2). The essential difference between patrilocal or matrilocal, and unilocal residence would be the existence of a society-wide rule declaring that one sex must marry out (ibid: 2).

The work of Ives (1985) is a recent attempt to solve the kinship puzzle among the Dene by a comparison and contrast with the Beaver, a group who speak a related Athapaskan language, are local group endogamous, and live just south of the

---

[4] Why Helm has rules in quotations marks is not explained in this article.

Slavey and Chipewyan. Ives states that there are a number of ways in which the Dene and the Beaver differ. He proposes that the variation in Dene kinship terminology has a regional basis, and that different people in different areas are using different systems of kin terms. Ives argues that: 1) when opposite sex siblings are allowed to reside in the same local group, there will be a predisposition to endogamy; and 2) when same sex siblings reside together exogamy will be ensured (Ives, 1985: 301).

Thus in the past it had been assumed that the peoples and languages known in English as Slavey, Chipewyan, Dogrib, and Hare were distinct social groups with distinct languages. It is not surprising in this context that the variability in kinship terminologies should be considered to be based in the linguistic and social groupings. However, the work of Krauss and Golla (1981) and Asch (1981) argues that the lines between such groupings were not nearly as distinct as formerly thought. The short sections below, based on fieldwork, address these issues.

Multilingualism

In Fort Resolution (**Deninoo**), Chipewyan speakers generally also claim to be able to speak Slavey, and understand Dogrib. This multilingualism is probably due to the relative proximity of these groups. I fully expect that in Snowdrift (a Chipewyan community on the east side of Great Slave Lake) the opposite would hold true. Some elderly informants also speak French and English as well.

Younger people do not speak Chipewyan; or in some cases, understand but do not speak it. Some parents explain that they never spoke Chipewyan to their children because of the difficulties they had when they entered school not speaking

English.

A fair number of Dene people suggest that language is a dead issue. Some people suggest that the language spoken today is not the 'real' language anyway. However, the elderly have a more realistic approach to language change. An elderly woman explaining archaic terms[5] concluded: "So, the ways of calling your relatives change" (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept. 1, 1988: 12).

Kinship language: Some background

There are two ways in any language to specify one's kin: one is the description of kin types, the other is the use of kinship terms particular to the specific language. In this section I will present the language used to describe kin types because it will be revealing for the terminologies collected.

In Chipewyan the following prefixes indicate person: **sɛ** = my (first person), **nɛ** = your (second person), **bɛ** = his/her (third person singular), **Wobɛ** =their (third person plural). The use of "**nɛ**" in the following figure indicates that these are the terms used to elicit answers to the genealogy (Figure 4).

Figure 5: Chipewyan Kin Types

CHIPEWYAN TERMS	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT (KIN TYPE)
nɛta	your father (F)
nɛta bɛta	your father, his father (FF)
nɛta bon	your father, his mother (FM)
nɛta bonarɛ	your father, his elder brother(eB)
nɛta bɛtčelɛ	your father, his younger brother (FyB)
nɛta barɛ	your father, his elder sister (FeZ)
nɛta bɛdezɛ	your father, his younger sister (FyZ)
nɛta bɛcanɛ	your father, his wife (FW)
mon	your mother (M)
mon bɛta	your mother, her father (MF)

[5] The kin terms used by the really old people when she was little.

Figure 5: Chipewyan Kin Types

CHIPEWYAN TERMS	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT (KIN TYPE)
mon bon	your mother, her mother (MM)
mon bonarɛ	your mother, her elder brother (MeB)
mon betčelɛ	your mother, her younger brother (MyB)
mon barɛ	your mother, her elder sister (MeZ)
mon bedezɛ	your mother, her younger sister (MyZ)
mon bedenɛ	your mother, her husband (MH)
nonarɛ	your elder brother (eB)
nečelɛ	your younger brother (yB)
narɛ	your elder sister (eZ)
nedezɛ	your younger sister (yZ)
nonarɛ becanɛ	your elder brother, his wife (eBW)
netčelɛ becanɛ	your younger brother, his wife (yBW)
narɛ bedenɛ	your elder sister, her husband (eZH)
nedezɛ bedenɛ	your younger sister, her husband (yZH)
nedenɛ	your husband (H)
necanɛ	your wife (W)
nedenɛ beta	your husband, his father (HF)
nedenɛ bon	your husband, his mother (HM)
necanɛ beta	your wife, her father (WF)
necanɛ bon	your wife, her mother (WM)
nedenɛ bonarɛ	your husband, his elder brother (HeB)
nedenɛ betčelɛ	your husband, his younger brother (HyB)
nedenɛ barɛ	your husband, his elder sister (HeZ)
nedenɛ bedezɛ	your husband, his younger sister (HyZ)
necanɛ bonarɛ	your wife, her elder brother (WeB)
necanɛ betčelɛ	your wife, her younger brother (WyB)
necanɛ barɛ	your wife, her elder sister (WeZ)
necanɛ bedezɛ	your wife, her younger sister (WyZ)
nonarɛ beskenɛ	your elder brother, his children (eBC)
netčelɛ beskenɛ	your younger brother, his children (yBC)
narɛ beskenɛ	your elder sister, her children (eZC)
nedezɛ beskenɛ	your younger sister, her children (yZC)
nɛʾazɛ	your child (C)
nɛʾazɛ denɛyu	your boy child (S)
nɛʾazɛ c'ɛk"i	your girl child (D)
nɛʾazɛ bedenɛ	your child, her husband (DH)
nɛʾazɛ becanɛ	your child, his wife (SW)
nɛʾazɛ beskenɛ	your child, his/her child (CC)

Of course, there is more than one dialect in existence in the community. The

other I came into contact with differed in the following ways.

Figure 6: Alternate Dialect: The Differences

CHIPEWYAN TERMS	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
sɛka	my father
ban	his/her mother
sona	my elder brother
bon	his/her elder brother
sɛdonuazɛ	my son
sɛsąsk˝i	my daughter

The varying relationship terminologies.

The different terminologies recorded in the past in various dispersed communities of Chipewyan co-exist within one community. Indeed, I would argue that some variation exists within every Dene community for specific reasons. These kinship terminologies have in the past been defined as Hawaiian, Iroquoian, Lineal, and Eskimoan in type.

Relationship terminologies vary dramatically in the community. I found three in use in **Deninoo**[6]. The fourth terminology presented here is an historic one; although there is evidence that people understand the reasoning of the fourth, no individual was found who uses it now.

Figure 7: Alternate kin terminologies one and two

ALTERNATE TERMINOLOGY NUMBER ONE: First recorded by Smith (1982).

Second Ascending generation.

sɛci / setčɛlunɛ : FF, MF
sɛcụɛ / sɛdɛzunɛ : FM, MM

[6] More than three could be developed, but for the purposes of this chapter three is sufficient.

Figure 7: Alternate kin terminologies one and two

ALTERNATE TERMINOLOGY NUMBER ONE: First recorded by Smith (1982).

First Ascending Generation

sɛta : F
ɛnɛ : M
sąk?iɛ : MZ, FZ, FBW, MBW, FW
sɛ?a : FB, MB, FZH, MZH, MH, EF
sɛco : EM

Ego's Generation

sonarɛ : eB, eFBS, eMBS, eFZS, eMZS
sarɛ : eZ, eFBD, eMBD, eFZD, eMZD
sɛtčɛlɛ : yB, yFBS, yMBS, yFZS, yMZS
sɛdɛzɛ : yZ, yFBD, yMBD, y FZD, yMZD

sɛtɛ : ms: ZH, FBDH, MBDH, FZDH, MZDH
fs: BW, FBSW, MBDW, FZDW, MZDW

sɛcụ : ms: BW, FBSW, MBSW, FZSW, MZSW
sɛčai: fs: ZH, FBDH, MBDH, FZDH, MZDW

Descending generations

sɛ'azɛ : S, ZS, BS
sɛlinazɛ: D, ZD, BD
sazɛ : DH, EZS, EBS, BC, ZC
sarazɛ : SW, EZD, EBD, SD, DD
sonarazɛ / sonazɛ : SS, DS, BS (fs), ZS (ms)

ALTERNATE TERMINOLOGY NUMBER TWO: First recorded by Sharp (1979).

Second Ascending generation.

sɛci : FF, MF
sɛcụɛ : FM, MM

First ascending generation

sɛta : F
ɛnɛ : M
sąk?iɛ : MZ, FZ, FBW, MBW, FW
sɛ?a : FB, MB, FZH, MZH, MH, EF
sɛco : EM

Figure 7: Alternate kin terminologies one and two

ALTERNATE TERMINOLOGY NUMBER TWO: First recorded by Sharp (1979).

Ego's Generation

sonarɛ : eB
sarɛ : eZ
sɛtčɛlɛ : yB
sɛdɛzɛ : yZ
sɛla : MZS, MBS, FZS, FBS, MZD, MBD, FZD, FBD
sɛtɛ : ms: ZH, FBDH, MBDH, FZDH, MZDH
sɛcu̯ : ms: BW, FBSW, MBSW, FZSW, MZSW

Descending generations

sɛ'azɛ : S
sɛlinazɛ: D
sazɛ : DH, EZS, EBS, BC , ZC
sarazɛ : SW EZD, EBD, SD, DD
sonarazɛ / sonazɛ : SS, DS

It should be noted that this terminology was used by one individual, an elderly man; and it is, therefore, more consistent and less complete than Terminology One. Terminology One, however, was used by a number of informants; and therefore lacks the same consistency. It should also be noted that these terminologies vary so greatly between individuals that it is almost impossible to construct a logical terminology without noting many exceptions.

The third terminology listed here is used by an entirely different generation: speakers under age 70 generally use this terminology. The age of 70 should be considered a rough boundary, for there are overlaps of individuals who use Number One above. It is a convenient age break because all individuals over 70 use the two terminologies above, or variations on them. Under age 60 speakers will use the

terminology below. Thus there is a transitional age from about 60 to 70, in which some individuals will use Terminology One, and others Terminology Three.

Figure 8 Alternate terminology number three

Second Ascending generation.

sɛci : FF, MF
sɛcɥɛ : FM, MM

First ascending generation

sɛta : F
ɛnɛ / ama : M
sąk?iɛ : MZ, FZ, FBW, MBW, FW
sɛ?a : FB, MB, FZH, MZH, MH, EF
sɛco : EM

Ego's Generation

sonarɛ : eB
sarɛ : eZ
sɛtčelɛ : yB
sɛdɛzɛ : yZ
sɛla : MZS, MBS, FZS, FBS, MZD, MBD, FZD, FBD
sɛtɛ : ms: ZH, FBDH, MBDH, FZDH, MZDH
fs: BW, FBSW, MBDW, FZDW, MZDW
sɛcɥ : ms: BW, FBSW, MBSW, FZSW, MZSW
sɛčai: fs: ZH, FBDH, MBDH, FZDH, MZDW

Descending generations

sɛ'azɛ dɛnɛyu : S
sɛ'azɛ c'ɛsk"i : D
sonarɛ/ setcelɛ bɛ'azɛ : BC
sarɛ/ sɛdɛzɛ bɛyazɛ : ZC
sazɛ : DH
sarazɛ : SW
sɛyazɛ bɛyazɛ : CC

The terminology below was given to me by Father Lou Menez, who added that this terminology was in use with some local differences when he first arrived in

Fort Resolution, approximately 30 years ago. This is an historic terminology; and while I have enough information to suggest that people in **Deninoo** understand the reasoning of this terminology, no person gave me this terminology in response to an interview. Unfortunately, this fact limits how much I can say regarding this terminology. Additionally, the minor local differences remain undefined. This terminology was collected from Chipewyan speakers by Elford and Elford in Cold Lake, Alberta; and is printed by the Prince Albert Evangelical Society (Elford and Elford, 1982).

Figure 9: An historic terminology

ALTERNATE TERMINOLOGY NUMBER FOUR: ELFORD AND ELFORD'S (1982) TERMINOLOGY

Second Ascending generation

sɛciɛ: FF, MF
sɛcunɛ: FM, MM

First Ascending generation

sɛta: F
sɛta zɛ : FB
ɛnɛ: M
sąk?iɛ: MZ
sɛ?a : MB, EF
sɛcų : FZ, EM

Ego's generation

sunarɛ : (elder) B, FBS, MZS
sɛčɛlɛ : (younger) B, FBS, MZS
sarɛ :(ęlder) Z, FBD, MZD
sɛdɛzɛ: (younger) Z, FBD, MZD
sɛtɛ : FZS (ms), MBS (ms), EB (ms), FZD (fs), MBD (fs), EZ (fs)
sɛcų: FZD (ms), MBD (ms), EZ (ms)
sɛčai: FZS (fs), MBS (fs), EB (fs)

sɛla : "my cousin"

Figure 9: An historic terminology

ALTERNATE TERMINOLOGY NUMBER FOUR: ELFORD AND ELFORD'S (1982) TERMINOLOGY

First Descending Generation

siʾazɛ : S, BS (ms), ZS (fs)
sɛljɛ: D, BD (ms), ZD (fs)
sazɛ : ZC (ms), SW (ms), DH (ms)
sɛča zɛ: BC (fs)
sečai : SW (fs), DH (ms)

Second Descending Generation

sunaɬazɛ : SS, DS
sarɛazɛ : DD, SD

I list the following plurals as some have been recorded in the published terminologies in the past.

Figure 10 : Some plurals for kin terms

CHIPEWYAN TERMS

sonakazɛ (plural for **sonarazɛ**)
sonaɬazɛ (plural for **sonarazɛ**)
sarɛkazɛ (plural for **sarazɛ**)
sɛlakʷi (plural for **sɛla**)
sɛskɛnɛ (plural for **sɛyazɛ**)

The following terms are also important for the study of kinship.

Figure 11: Additional terms for Kin

CHIPEWYAN TERMS	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
sɛnąkʷi	my brothers and sisters
sɛlotinɛ	my family
sɛčazɛ	my boyfriend (female)
sɛcɥɛ	my girlfriend (male)

Not all individuals always have all the relatives listed in the genealogy (Figure

4), nor do all informants know all the individuals in their genealogy.

The material presented here illustrates that the various terminologies collected over the years in the Subarctic co-exist within one community. This chapter also illustrates that individuals are multilingual. All informants were raised in the area; hence an analysis based entirely on regional variation must be ruled out.

CHAPTER II: KINSHIP LITERATURE

In the last chapter we saw that the assumption of different peoples, living in different areas, speaking different languages, and using different kin terminologies does not account for the facts in the case of the Dene. The social groupings based on regions are not as clear as previously thought, social groupings based on language are not as clear as previously thought, and divergent kin terminologies co-exist within one community. In order to examine the differences between these terminologies it is necessary to review some literature on the nature of kinship terminologies, and kinship theory.

A Short Review of the Kinship Literature

The analysis of kinship terminologies in Anthropology began with Morgan's (1966[1871]) publication of Systems of Consanguinity in the Human Family. In this work Morgan (1966[1871]) proposed two major types of kinship systems: descriptive and classifactory. Classifactory systems systematically class lineals and collaterals together (Keesing, 1975: 102) whereas descriptive systems do not.

On the descriptive system, Morgan (1966[1871]) writes,

> It has also been called a natural system, because it is founded upon a correct appreciation of the distinction between the lineal and several collateral lines, and of the perpetual divergence of the latter from the former. (142).

He additionally explains that among the classificatory systems

> ... consanguinei are never described by a combination of the primary; but on the contrary they are arranged into great classes or categories upon principle of discrimination peculiar to these families. All the individuals of the same class are admitted into one and the same relationship, and the same special term is applied indiscriminately to each and all of them (p.143).

The two systems described by Morgan in 1871 are the source of a great many difficulties for anthropologists.

Kroeber's (1971 [1909]) article "Classifactory Systems of Relationship" is a direct attack on Morgan's (1966[1871]) Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity in the Human Family. Kroeber's point is that all relationship terminologies are both descriptive and classifactory. However, in Systems Morgan also explains the collateral distinction as one feature of this division (ibid: 13). He writes:

> On the contrary, in that of the Turanian, American Indian, and Malay families, the several collateral lines, near and remote, are finally brought into, and merged in the lineal line, thus theoretically, if not practically preventing a dispersion of the blood. The relationships of collateral by this means is both appreciated and preserved. This mergence is, in like manner, one of characteristics of the classifactory system. (ibid: 13)

Indeed both Morgan and Kroeber agree that collateral criteria are treated fundamentally differently in different kinship systems.

Kroeber's critical article proposes that underlying dimensions in the use of kinship terminologies reflect "psychology" and not sociology. The dimensions imposed by language are based on eight kinds of criteria. These are:

1) The difference between persons of the same and different generations.

2) The difference between lineal and collateral kin. Kroeber notes that this difference is inoperative only when brother is equal to cousin.

3) The difference of age between people within the same generation.

4) The sex of the relative referred to.

5) The sex of the speaker.

6) The sex of the person through whom the relationship exists.

7) The distinction of blood relatives from connections by marriage.

And, 8) The condition of life of the person through whom the relation exists (ie., deceased or not). (Kroeber, 1971[1909]: 609-610).

According to Barnard and Good (1984:60), the kinship typologies used by anthropologists to classify kin terminologies were influenced by Kroeber's article. These types of classification can be represented as follows:

Figure 12 Kinship Typologies

MURDOCK'S COUSIN TYPOLOGY

male alters	
Hawaiian	B = FBS = MZS = FZS = MBS
Eskimo	B =/ FBS = MZS = FZS = MBS
Sudanese	B =/ FBS =/ MZS =/ FZS =/ MBS
Iroquois	B = FBS = MZS =/ FZS = MBS
	(Or B =/ FBS = MZS =/ FZS = MBS)

female alters	
Hawaiian	Z = FBD = MZD = FZD = MBD
Eskimo	Z =/ FBD = MZD = FZD = MBD
Sudanese	Z =/ FBD =/ MZD =/ FZD =/ MBD
Iroquois	Z = FBD = MZD =/ FZD = MBD
	(Or Z =/ FBD = MZD =/ FZD = MBD)

(Bernard and Good, 1984:62)

LOWIE-KIRCHOFF TYPOLOGY FOR FIRST ASCENDING GENERATION

	male alters	female alters
generational	F=FB=MB	M=MZ=FZ
bifurcate merging	F=FB=/MB	M=MZ=/FZ
lineal	F=/FB=MB	M=/MZ=FZ
bifurcate collateral	F=/FB=/MB	M=/MZ=/FZ

(Bernard and Good, 1984:61).

It is not hard to see two parallel traditions in the study of kinship and kin

terminologies. One tradition developed from Morgan and Maine, and the other tradition developed from Tylor and Boas (Fortes, 1963:14). Kroeber's argument on kin terminology represents the latter tradition, and a concern for "psychological" causes. However, Morgan's principle was " that kinship terminologies and customs depend on social causes, have social functions, and reflect socially ordained rights and duties " (Morgan, 1966 [1871]:17).

Another point of view

In this chapter I argue that Kinship studies can be seen as deriving from two traditions. Levi-Strauss'(1969) Elementary Structures of Kinship offers another view of kinship. In a sense Levi-Strauss (1969) can be viewed as a resolution of the other two traditions. Levi-Strauss proposes that many of the systems of kinship work to exchange women between groups, and the ways in which women are exchanged can explain different systems of kinship. His concern is with what is actually happening in the exchange of women to reproduce society. He proposes two major categories, Elementary and Complex Systems; and suggests that Crow-Omaha types of societies sit between Elementary and Complex societies (Levi-Strauss, 1966). Levi-Strauss' 1969 analysis deals largely with unilineal systems, as he himself confesses in his preface to the second edition (Levi Strauss, 1969: xxviii).

Some commentators object to Levi-Strauss' concept of women as the supreme gift. His analysis, however, raises a new concern with marriage (or alliance) as a key to the social structures of a number of societies. In the case of this thesis I propose we view the exchange as an exchange of personnel for the purpose of reproducing society (both biologically and socially). As the Dene are a bilateral

society, nothing will be lost by adjusting Levi-Strauss in this manner. As P.B.P. De Josselin DeJong (1977:31) points out, exchange is not significant because of the nature of the goods exchanged but from the nature of the act itself.

The concern with alliance is reflected as well by Louis Dumont (1953), who found that looking at the society of South India from a descent viewpoint does little to explain the kinship structure in that society. Dumont's basic point is that kinship language reflects marriage and the way people think about marriage. Also, he argues that affinity is an institution which can be inherited as surely as descent. The institutions of marriage and descent obviously co-exist, but marriage can not be explained in terms of descent in certain systems, without invoking a contamination from our own system of kinship reckoning (Dumont, 1983).

A Short Explanation of Componential Analysis

The typologies discussed earlier in this chapter have proved to be less useful than originally hoped. In the 1960s, with the growth of ethnoscience and linguistic analysis, some authors propose new ways of looking at kinship terminologies as language. Two examples are componential analysis and transformational grammar (Borland, 1979).

Much of the literature on kinship either accepts or rejects the use of formal techniques in the analysis of kinship terminologies (Keesing 1972; Barnes 1980). Indeed, many kinship specialists reject the notion that typology is important (Fortes, 1963). This situation has led many to abandon the field of kinship, and propose alternate ways of looking at social structure (Barnes, 1980; Fortes, 1963). The result has been that kinship specialists have largely been reduced to the analysis of kin

terminologies and kinship grammar, in an analytic field which is excessively difficult for non-specialists to understand (Barnes, 1980). This situation has also led fieldworkers into the use of outdated typologies, or the complicated "new" typologies developed out of linguistic techniques (eg., Scheffler, 1972).

In preparation for fieldwork on Dene kinship, I began collecting kin terminologies as published in the literature. I began with Chipewyan terminologies, largely because in the community studied the majority are Chipewyan speakers. Fortunately, there are three authors who have recently published terminologies: MacNeish (1960), Sharp (1977; 1979), and Smith (1982). As each organized the data differently, and presented slightly different terminologies covering different ranges of kin types, organization into a comparative table proved difficult (see Appendix, Table I).

Since the presentation of kin terms from the literature presents three separate systems of organization, perhaps we should examine what the authors agree upon. First, all authors agree on grandparent terms. Second, all authors agree that granddaughter is equivalent to female cross or female collateral-affinal in the adjacent generation (-1)[1]. There are several interesting things to note in these figures (Appendix Table III). First Smith's (1982) and Sharp's (1977) data clearly point to a system which divides into direct, collateral, and affinal categories (see Appendix, Table III). Helm-MacNeish's (1960) data, on the other hand, produce a cross-parallel system (see Appendix, Table III).

In order to check the consistency of my presentation of the data, I applied a

---

[1] Or within our kinship language "niece".

componential analysis to the data at hand. The analysis worked very well as a check for consistency; however, while doing the analysis several issues came to the fore. These issues will be discussed in the next chapter. The purpose here is to provide a description of componential analysis in general.

The standard technique for classifying kin terminologies, after Murdock and Lowie, involves the equivalence of certain kin types. On the basis of these equivalencies (eg., MB=FB) anthropologists classify kinship terminologies according to the typology discussed earlier; and these typologies are used to describe the kind of terminology involved (eg. lineal). Componential analysis of kin terminologies operates differently. Every kin term represents a range of kin types (eg. M, F, MB). Each of these kin types can be represented by a symbolic notation. The notation used in this work is given in Figure 13 below.

Figure 13 : Symbolic Notation for Componential Analysis

Notation	Meaning
a	person of unspecified sex
b	person of unspecifiedsex, opposite to a.
m	male
f	female
+	ascending
-	descending
0	sibling link
=	marriage link
e	elder within generation
y	younger within generation

(Werner and Schoepfle, 1987:99)

Any kin term includes kin types which can be translated into a symbolic notation. Once translated into the symbolic notation the range of the term can be compared

and contrasted to other terms. The components[2] operating to contrast terms can then be derived from the range statement, and verbally stated.

Wallace and Aitken (1969) give five steps for doing a componential analysis. These five steps are:

1) Record the complete domain or set or defined subset of kin words or kin names that belong together.

2) Define the kin words in the traditional kin type notation (eg. FB, MB, MZ).

3) Sort the kin terms into groups with two or more conceptual dimensions each with a bundle of values (components) which are signified by one or more of the terms.

4) Define each term using a symbolic notation, in which the value of each component receives a symbol.

5) State the semantic relations among the terms and the structural principles linking the terminological systems. (Wallace and Aitkens, 1969: 345-346). In my case steps one through three were already completed by the Subarctic specialists that published kin terminologies, leaving steps four and five to be completed.

In doing the componential analysis of Dene terms, the terms given by each author were translated into range statements using the notation presented by Werner and Schoepfle (1987). This notation was used largely because it is aesthetically pleasing, and makes more sense to me than an alphabetical presentation such as Goodenough, 1971a. Additionally, Goodenough's alphabetical presentation is based

---

[2] Components are the units of meaning which combine to produce a dimension; for example, a relative age dimension has two components : elder and younger. (Wallace and Aitkens, 1969: 345).

entirely on the dimensions underlying the terminologies, whereas the symbolic notation allows one to group the formulas and contrast them to arrive at the dimensions. In other words, this particular type of componential analysis allows the analyst to produce a minimal definition of the terminologies on the basis of oppositions.

A verbal statement was derived from the range statements given for each term. These verbal statements consisted of dimensions such as: sex of relative, sex of speaker, relative sex, relative age, generation, and cross-parallel, lineal, collateral, and affinal. It should be noted that there was no attempt to exclude terms. I was seeking a statement of each term as presented by the authors; and hence, I was interested in the entire range each term presented (see Appendix Table II). The verbal statement of the dimensions in each generation was derived from the symbolic range statements (see Appendix Table IV). On this basis it was possible to construct a kinship paradigm which illustrates the logic each author appears to be presenting (see Appendix Table III).

The dimensions are fairly easily identified. A sex of relative dimension would look like: a+m, a+m0m, a+f0m. In other words, the sex of the last position would be the same. A sex of speaker dimension would be: f+a, f+m0a, f+f0a; or, the sex of the first position would be the same. The relative sex dimension would look like: f+m, f+m0m, f+f0m OR f+f, f+f0f, f+m0f. In other words, the relative sex dimension contains two components: it is either same sex as me, or opposite sex as me.

A relative age dimension is symbolized by e (elder) or y (younger). A generational dimension is represented by + or -, and this dimension distinguishes generations from one another. However, generational dimensions can have components that are simply ascending and descending generations as well as first and second ascending and descending generations.

An affinal dimension would be represented by a = link in the range statement. The nature of the intervening sex link is a diagnostic dimension of cross-parallel systems. There are two components in this dimension: the presence of the same-sex link, and the presence of a cross sex link. In the same-sex link one would find a range statement like:

a+m		a+f
a+f0f=m	OR	a+m0m=f
a+mom		a+f0f

In the cross sex link one would find a range statement like:

a+f0m		a+m0f
f=m+m	OR	m=f+f
a+m0f=m		a+f0m=f

The unifying feature in the same-sex link is a same-sex pair; in the cross sex link it is an opposite-sex pair.

The collateral dimension is the most difficult, largely because it consists of multiple links in certain generations. The collateral dimension works on the co-existence of a sibling link (0), a generational link (+ or -), and possibly an affinal link (=) in some generations; so a collateral statement would look like:

a+m0m	a+m0f=m
a+f0m	a+f0f=m

The problems with the imprecision of this dimension is the major reason that I chose not to use this dimension unless there were no other choices.

To conclude, this chapter provides some of the background information and literature required to understand how terminologies have been dealt with in the past. It also provides a description of componential analysis. The componential analysis done in this work is found in the Appendix. The componential analysis raised a number of questions concerning the nature of Chipewyan kin terminologies, and these questions are raised in the next chapter. The next chapter asks the question: What is the basic difference between the terminologies collected in the Subarctic? It defines the problem under investigation, and opens the possibility that variability should not necessarily be a problem in this particular case.

CHAPTER III: KIN TERMINOLOGY AS FORMAL LANGUAGE

This chapter is concerned with kin terminologies as language. Just as the Dene languages were formerly treated as discrete units, kin terminologies have also been treated as discrete systems with highly divergent characteristics. The specific problem addressed in this chapter is the differing types of relationship terminologies collected among the Dene. Dene kin terminologies have been classified as Hawaiian, Lineal, cross-parallel[1], and as Eskimoan types of kin classification.

This chapter is a linguistic reanalysis of four kinship paradigms, presented by three different authors, for two Dene groups; but could equally be applied to the alternate terminologies presented by myself in Chapter One. In order to check the consistency of my presentation of the authors' data, I applied a componential analysis to the kin terms of the authors; this analysis is located in the Appendix. The componential analysis raised an issue which this chapter will address : the question of terminological line.

The concept of terminological line is somewhat related to the concept of classifactory and descriptive terminologies discussed in the last chapter. However, rather than focusing on the merging of the lineal and collateral relatives, the concept of terminological line focusses on how the terminology involved classes relatives into groups. Hence, Hawaiian, and cross-parallel types of terminologies are two-line; whereas, an Eskimoan type is a three-line terminology.

---

[1] In this thesis I use the term cross-parallel for the terminology Keesing calls Dravidian-Iroquois, or Type II (Keesing, 1975: 105).

Linguistic Reanalysis

The terminologies published by Subarctic specialists essentially differ in two ways. One difference between the models presented is the number of lines in the terminology. MacNeish's (1960) terminology is clearly a cross-parallel model, and is therefore a two-line terminology. However, Smith's (1982) and Sharp's (1977) models are three-line models. For Morgan and Kroeber, the difference in two-line and three-line terminologies lies in the collateral dimension.

If the difference between these two types of terminologies is the collateral dimension, how could one extend a system based on two lines (cross-parallel/consanguine-affine) into one that is based on three (direct, collateral, and affinal)? Or conversely, how does one reduce a three-line system into a two-line one? Superficially, this should be possible. In order to make a two-line system into a three-line one, one simply adds a line. In the first ascending generation parallel relatives are converted into lineal ones, and cross relatives into collateral ones; or, one uses two collateral terms. In ego's generation one makes ego a direct, makes all collaterals equivalent, and adds an affinal category. Finally, in the first descending generation, one repeats the process for the first ascending generation.

Since MacNeish (1960) presents a two-line terminology, gathered among the Chipewyan, I will use her terminology as an example. The process involved here is basically addition. By adding dimensions to convert her two-line terminology into a three-line one we can see how many dimensions it takes to change it by comparing the dimensions in the revised paradigm (see Figure 14 below) to the author's presentation found in Table Two in the Appendix (pp. xii-xiii).

Figure 14

MACNEISH'S CROSS-PARALLEL SYSTEM REDRAWN AS A DIRECT-COLLATERAL-AFFINAL TERMINOLOGY

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL		AFFINAL			
	M	F	M	F	M		F	
+2	sɛci	sɛcɥɛ						
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛta·zɛ	sąk?iɛ	sɛ?a		sɛcu	
			sonaτɛ	sarɛ	ms	fs	ms	fs
0	EGO				sɛčuazɛ	sɛτɛ	sɛτɛ	sɛčai
			sɛčɛlɛ	sɛdɛzɛ				
-1	si'azɛ	selin	ms:sazɛ	sazɛ				
			fs:					
			saraze	sɛčai				
-2	ms:sɛθu							
	fs:							
	sonaτɛ							

In order to make MacNeish's paradigm into a three-line terminology we must violate her data. The terminology she presents can not be reinterpreted as a direct-collateral-affinal system unless we conclude that her presentation is completely wrong. In order to produce the paradigm below, we would have to ignore her dimensions and apply three dimensions in each of two generations[2].

In order to make the three-line system into a two-line one the affinal category is simply dropped; or, playing on the indeterminacy within our own collateral

[2] Note how we must place Ego in the direct category, and how the first descending generation remains a dual classification.

system[3], we can make brothers and sisters into directs, and affines into collateral in all generations. The process involved here is much like subtraction. Again, we can do this and measure how many of the authors' dimensions we have to subtract to make their three-line terminologies into two-line ones.

The process involved is illustrated in Figure 15 below. It is important to note that in this case I have included the EGO to make Smith's paradigm more consistently three-line.

Figure 15

SMITH'S KIN TERM PARADIGM: REDRAWN AS DIRECT-COLLATERAL

STEP ONE: DROP AFFINAL SIDE

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL	
	male	female	male	female
+2	sɛciɛ	sɛcɥ		
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	se?a	sąk?iɛ
			sonatɛ(e)	sarɛ(e)
0	EGO			
			sɛtčɛlɛ(y)	sɛdɛzɛ(y)
-1	si'azɛ	sɛkazɛ		
		sɛlinazɛ	sazɛ	sarazɛ
-2	sɛθuazɛ	sɛθuazɛ		
	sonatazɛ			

[3] Ie, are brothers and sisters collaterals or lineals? (Romney and D'Andrade, 1971).

Figure 15

STEP TWO: MOVE EGO'S COLLATERALS INTO DIRECT

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL	
	male	female	male	female
+2	sɛciɛ	sɛcɥɛ		
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛʔa	sąkʔiɛ
	sonaτɛ(e)	sarɛ (e)		
0	setcɛlɛ(y)	sɛdɛzɛ(y)		
	sɛʾazɛ	sɛkazɛ		
-1		sɛlinazɛ	sazɛ	sarazɛ
-2	sɛ θuazɛ	sɛθ uazɛ		
	sonaτazɛ			

STEP THREE: MOVE AFFINAL CATEGORY BACK IN

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL + AFFINAL			
	male	female	male		female	
+2	sɛciɛ	sɛcɥɛ				
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛʔa		sąkʔiɛ	
					sɛcu	
			ms	fs	fs	ms
0	sonaτɛ	sarɛ (e)	sɛτɛ	sɛčai	sɛτɛ	sɛco
	sɛtčɛlɛ	sɛdɛzɛ(y)				
-1	sɛʾazɛ	sɛkazɛ				
		sɛlinazɛ	sazɛ		sarazɛ	
-2	sɛθˇuazɛ	sɛθˇuazɛ				
	sonaτɛ					

Just as our system folds affinals into collaterals in ascending and descending generations, Possibility Three indicates that collaterals are folded into the direct category in ego's generation. This manipulation leaves the possibility that in this case the terminology indicated is a Direct vs. Collateral + Affinal categorization.

This analysis does not indicate that Smith (1982) is suggesting a cross-parallel system: he clearly is not. But the dimensions expressed in the kin terms do indicate that a two-line interpretation is possible. There are still inconsistencies between Helm-MacNeish and Smith that can not be analyzed away. I think that Smith would opt for the presentation in Table III in the Appendix. However, his data are consistent with Possibility Three above. In Possibility Three the system does not appear to be making a distinction between collaterals and affinals. In order to produce a paradigm like Possibility Three, we must ignore the collateral-affinal distinction in the first ascending generation for females.

Indeed the remodelling of Smith's kinship paradigm has only one notable difference with the kinship paradigm presented by Helm-MacNeish: the placement of **sa̧?kiɛ**. The misplacement of this term is not an enduring problem to solve because the linguistic relationship between **ɛnɛ** and **sa̧k?iɛ** is already well established (MacNeish, 1960; Dyen and Aberle 1974).

Just as Smith's (1982) paradigm can be transformed into a two-line interpretation without completely violating his data, so can Sharp's (1977). By removing the collateral-affinal distinction in ego's generation Sharp's data can also be interpreted as a two-line terminology (see Appendix, Table III). In this case we must remove the collateral-affinal distinction in the first ascending and ego's

generation (see Figure 16 below and next page).

It appears that the model presented by MacNeish (1960) is less subject to addition than the models presented by Smith (1982) and Sharp (1977; 1979) are to subtraction. This fact suggests two things. Firstly, the models proposed by Smith and Sharp are less internally consistent than MacNeish's; and, secondly, their models may have been subject to author-imposed dimensions. The models presented by Smith (1982) and Sharp (1977; 1979) are easy to subtract from because a dimension has been added to the kin term paradigm. The addition of the collateral dimension to these kin term paradigms is not necessary to distinguish the different terms from each other: it determines only line. In other words, the collateral dimension in Smith (1982) and Sharp (1977; 1979) is redundant.

Figure 16: Sharp (1977 and 1979) redrawn

SHARP'S (1977) KIN TERM PARADIGM: removing the collateral-affinal distinction in Ego's generation.

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL + AFFINAL			
	Male	Female	Male		Female	
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛʔa		secu	
				sɛla		
0	e sunarɛ	sari	ms	ws	ms	ws
			sɛri	sɛtci	sɛcu	sɛri
	y sɛtčɛlɛ	sɛdɛzɛ				
	sɛʼazɛ	sɛliɛ	sunɛs		saraze	
-1			sazɛ		sazɛ	

However, in 1979 Sharp produced a study entitled Chipewyan Marriage. The terminology as presented in this work can be similarly presented as:

Figure 16: Sharp (1977 and 1979) redrawn

SHARP'S (1979) KINSHIP PARADIGM: removing collateral-affinal distinction in +1 and Ego's generation.

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL + AFFINAL			
	Male	Female	Male		Female	
+2	sɛcuɛ	sɛciɛ				
	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛ?a		sąk?iɛ	
+1					secu (EM)	
	e sunarɛ	sari	sɛla			
			ms	ws	ms	ws
0	y sɛtčɛlɛ	sɛdɛzɛ	sɛri	sɛtči	sɛcu	sɛri
-1	se'azɛ	sɛliɛ	saz	ɛ	saraz	ɛ
-2	sunarazɛ	sarazɛ				

At this point, I would like to address in depth the problems of accepting Sharp's (1977; 1979) paradigms as they are presented. I will address the problems as I see them in Sharp's text vis-a-vis these terminologies. Sharp's (1977; 1979) presentations are not the same in the two works. In his 1977 work, he is arguing that the hunting unit is the building block of Chipewyan society, and is the exogamous unit. In his 1979 work, he is also arguing against patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. He states:

> Before such a system (patrilateral cross-cousin marriage) can be seriously considered these terminological ambiguities must be clarified, the generational cousin terminology of Mission and Snowdrift must be explained, and the role of hunting unit exogamy explored. (Sharp, 1979; p.41).

Sharp's application of the collateral dimension appears to be influenced by the

Snowdrift cousin terminology and his argument concerning hunting unit exogamy. This may be a moot point, but Sharp's terminology is not a generational one. A generational terminology is equivalent to a Hawaiian terminology.

There is, as I noted, a problem in the analysis of Dene kin terms surrounding the word **sɛla**. It is translated as "cousin" in Sharp's (1979) work. However, Sharp writes:

> At the widest extension, any relative by marriage to one ego's affines (within ego's generation) is **sɛla** to ego. The principle of extension permits a relationship but does not make it mandatory. By the same token, any affine (ego's generation) is **sela** but can be **seri** (**setchi** or **setsu**). (Sharp, 1979; p.19)

In other words, there is evidence from Sharp's own text that his presentation of kin terminologies does not reflect all the data. More importantly his text supports the questioning of the collateral-affinal distinction made here. Although Sharp's (1977; 1979) data looks like an Eskimoan terminology, his text reveals that the cousin terminology he presents contains affines as well as cousins. He also presents the fact that "cousin" marriage does occur fairly frequently[4].

Sharp's presentation does raise a problem of more general concern: the problem of the term **Sɛla**. Dyen and Aberle (1974) also encountered this problem in their analysis. They wrote:

> The Snowdrift Chipewyan system appears to Van Stone and us to be a development from a terminological pattern like that recorded by MacNeish (1960). The use of term 40 (**sɛla**) for all cousins in this subdialect parallels Li's version of the Cold Lake subdialect. Li's version, however, differs considerably from Myer's version of the Cold Lake subdialect, collected at about the same time. In particular, Myer's version differentiates parallel cousins from siblings, distinguishes cross cousins from parallel cousins, and shows sex

---

[4] Sharp's (1979) examples are found in Appendix II of Chipewyan Marriage. It should be noted these are all second degree cross cousin marriages.

> of speaker distinctions for cross cousins. ... The parallel use of term 40 (**sɛla**) in Li's and Van Stone's schedules raises the question of whether Li's version should have been set aside. ... Broadly speaking, there are two possibilities. Either 1. Myers was correct and Li was in error, and the parallel with Van Stone is accidental, or 2. there were generational, local, or individual differences in the Cold Lake region when Li and Myers did their fieldwork. It is unlikely that Myers' elaborately differentiated cousin-term pattern had no basis in fact (Dyen and Aberle, 1974: 293).

Actually there is a third possibility; perhaps **sɛla** and **sɛri**, **sɛtči**, and **secu** do not conflict. **Sɛla** is a term which operates on generation and line. **Sɛri**, **sɛtči**, and **sɛcu** are semantically distinguished from **sɛla** by sex of speaker and relative sex of speaker to alter (ie, same sex or not); and they also operate on generation and line. In other words, we do not need the collateral dimension to distinguish **sɛla** from **sɛtɛ**, **sɛcu** and **sɛčai**. If there is no difficulty accepting four terms in this generation in the direct line on the basis of elder-younger distinctions, there is no logical reason for rejecting four terms in the collateral-affinal line.

Perhaps at this point we should look at what happens in a kin term paradigm when a collateral dimension is applied to all the data, without the intent of converting lines. Rushforth (1984) applied the collateral dimension in his componential analysis of Bear Lake kin terminology. The result of this addition on the kin term paradigm is presented on the next page in Figure 17.

Rushforth found that Bear Lake people have a distinction between kin- **xade-segotine** and **'oc'e-segotine** which Rushforth defines as : "my real [true] relatives and my other relatives; my relatives from the other side" (Rushforth, 1984: 56). Rushforth asserts that this distinction in this context is equivalent to consanguineal and affinal kin (ibid: 56). In order to distinguish "real" kin from other kin, he applied a collateral dimension to all the kin terms given to him (Rushforth 1988).

Figure 17

RESULTS OF RUSHFORTH'S (1984) COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

	CONSANGUINEAL		COLLATERAL		AFFINAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
+2	ehtse	ehtsin	ehtse	ehtsin	ehtse	ehtsi
	seta	senon	setan	senoo	se'e	sebee
+1	setan	senoon	se'e	sebee		
	se'e	sebee				
	e sonde	sedade	sonde	sedade		
0	y sechile	sede	sechile	sede		
			sela	seye	sela	seye
	seya	setue		seya	setue	
-1	seedon			seedon		
	ms	fs	seba		ms	fs
	sekwi	sechaa			sekwi	sechaa
	ehtse (ms)		ehtse (ms)		ehtse (ms)	
-2	sechaa (fs)		sechaa (fs)		sechaa (fs)	

However, Rushforth notes that one informant told him that **se'a** (Father-in-law) could be applied to Mother's Brother (female speaker), and **sebee** (Mother-in-law) to Father's sister (male speaker). He dismissed this feature as a metaphoric extension and did not include it in his analysis (Rushforth, 1984: 54). By including the noted exceptions (Rushforth, 1984:54) the terminology was reanalyzed and the cross-parallel paradigm was produced (see Figure 18 next page).

Nonetheless, Rushforth's (1984) data is an interesting example of the two faces of this kinship system (see Appendix, Table V). By including those terms which Rushforth excluded, the result is a system which sits between Helm-MacNeish's

(1960), and Smith's (1982) and Sharp's (1977; 1979) data.

Figure 18

KIN TERM PARADIGM BASED ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RUSHFORTH'S DATA (See Appendix, Table V).

	PARALLEL		CROSS	
	Male	Female	Female	Male
+2	ehtse	ehtsin		
+1	seta	senon	sebee	se'e
	setan	senoon		
	e sonde	sedade	ms fs	fs ms
0			seye sela	seye sela
	y sechile	sede		
			seba	
-1			ms fs	
	seya	setu	sekwi sechaa	seedon
			seba	
-2	ehtse (ms)		sechaa (ws)	

Even more interesting than the paradigm itself are the dimensions upon which this terminology is formed (see Figure 19 next page). I have in Figure 19 used the term "lineal distinction". While this term is standard, it is important to note that it has nothing to with a direct-collateral-affinal division of the terminological system. The pattern F=/FB=/MB or M=/MZ=/FZ is a bifurcate collateral pattern.

Figure 19

LINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS USED TO PRODUCE FIGURE 18

	PARALLEL	CROSS
+2	1. Generation 2. Sex	
+1	1. Generation 2. Sex 3. Partial lineal(+)	1. Generation 2. Sex 3. Nature of intervening sex link
0	1. Generation 2. Sex 3. Seniority	1. Generation 2. Relative sex of speaker to alter 3. Nature of intervening sex link 4. Sex of speaker
-1	1. Generation 2. Sex	1. Generation 2. Relative sex of speaker to alter 3. Nature of intervening sex link
-2	1. Generation 2. Sex of speaker 3. Relative sex of speaker to alter	

One interesting feature in this system is that it is not operating on what Scheffler (1972) calls the same-sex sibling equivalence rule; rather, it is operating on two sets of rules; one set for the parallel side, another for the cross side. The cross side has the distinction of "the nature of the intervening sex link" which in this case is an opposite- sex link. In other words, this system appears to be

operating on the nonequivalency of opposite-sex siblings rather than than equivalency of same-sex siblings; and this concept involves the use of two possible terms for cross persons (FZ, FZC, MB, MBC, BC(ws), ZC(ms)).

There are several elements which the authors who produce non-cross-parallel systems have in common. Rushforth (1984), Smith (1982), and Sharp (1977; 1979) are using a collateral dimension in their analysis. Smith (1982) uses it to argue that this terminology is lineal. The lineal distinction in the first ascending generation may have caused him to attempt to order his paradigm around it. This, unfortunately, does not work because lineal distinctions can exist in all types of terminologies (Keesing, 1975); and a lineal distinction does not necessarily determine line.

Rushforth (1984) has applied a collateral dimension in his componential analysis. His concern was to distinguish "real" kin from other kin as the speakers themselves do (Rushforth, 1988). I would argue that it would be very strange if the people involved could not distinguish between "real" and classifactory kin[5]. However, the ability to make this distinction does not mean that the lines are changing. I would suggest that the application of a collateral dimension is unsuitable for either Hawaiian or cross-parallel systems; both are the terminologies he documents. The application of this dimension contributes to the scattering of data as illustrated in Figure 17.

---

[5] Classifactory is used in this thesis to distinguish between examples of actual relationship and named relationship.

Rushforth (1984) and Sharp (1979) both use an extensionist argument to dismiss data. The extensionist argument is basically that people extend kin terms from close kin to more extended ones, and an analyst can predict the entire classification on the basis of close kin (Noricks, 1987). Unfortunately, Rushforth (1984) and Sharp (1979) have interpreted this notion as meaning that certain kinship data can be dismissed on the basis that they are an extension. In Rushforth's case these extensions contradict his definition of categories of kin, and are not simply an extension from primary to secondary kin types. In fact it is the opposite: within the extensionist argument, it is applying a more distant kin term (**se'a** defined by Rushforth as "father-in-law") to a closer kin type (MB); so Rushforth's removing this fact from analysis is troublesome even within the extensionist argument. However, Rushforth (1984) adds metaphor to the problem. Unfortunately he does not define what he means. Metaphorical usage in Goodenough (1956: 98) is much like fictive kinship. The usual example is the use of the word "father" for a priest. In any case, Rushforth's use of metaphor is somewhat troublesome in this context.

Sharp (1979) is basically arguing a standard extensionist argument. At this point I would like to emphasize that the extensionist viewpoint is embedded in the kinship typologies. Indeed it is embedded in the definition of kinship used in this section, and has been an issue for a number of years. Hocart (1971 [1937]) argues:

> All of our difficulties spring from a preconceived idea that kinship terms everywhere try to express the same thing as they do in Aryan and Semitic languages, and that those languages show the place on the family tree. (Hocart, 1971 [1937]: 32)

Service (1971) also objects to the use of the extensionist argument. He states:

> One of our problems is that part of the ethnocentrism lies in the egocentrism of beginning with the individual and assuming that kinship categories are

extended outward. (Service, 1971: 183)

Service continues to argue that kinship categories are status categories, and should be treated accordingly. The problem, then, according to Hocart and Service, is that terminologies have been solely associated with positions on the family tree because that is the way we classify people in our kinship system.

In other words, it has long been argued that the extensionist viewpoint has general flaws. In the case under investigation (Dene kinship terms), the flaws of the extensionist viewpoint are particularly notable. From the extensionist viewpoint, individuals are using entirely different kin term paradigms and therefore different types of kin classification. The problem with dismissing data in analysis is that we are also dismissing variability. Classifying these terminologies by typology requires choosing which one is THE right terminology, and who is wrong.

Problems of Method in the Literature

In addition to the specific problems in analysis of kin terminologies, there are several general methodological problems. First is the problem reflected in the attitude of certain authors that there is no standard accepted method for collecting kin terminologies (Helm, 1988). Kinship terminologies have been collected in the Subarctic by simply translating kin types in English into Chipewyan kin terms (Helm, 1988; Smith, 1988).

Related to this point of view is the notion that we can informally know how people are related to one another. I would suggest that collecting terminologies isolated from actual people is a risky activity; for often we may know only certain

ties of kinship and not the multiplicity[6] of ties common in many small-scale societies. In the case of the MacKenzie-Drainage Dene the terminology may be only understandable by grounding the terminology to actual people and actual residence patterns.

There appears to be a patent contradiction here, for how do we collect information about multiplicity without using the genealogical method? Quite frankly we can't. Both Hocart (1971) and Service (1971) are using a reductionist argument as well. They are basically arguing the method is flawed; let's throw it out; hence, Helm's (1988) point regarding no acceptable method for collecting kin terminologies.

I would rather approach this problem in another way. Yes, the collection of kin terminologies as if they reflect the positions on the family tree (or by kin type) is reductionist. However, collecting genealogies, kin terms, and residence in accordance with the genealogical method is useful. It standardizes the collection; and allows the researcher to examine multiplicity, and the other factors like residence. Hence, the genealogical method allows data to be collected for a number of contexts. In short, we do need the genealogical method.

However, we should not consider this method an end in itself. It is a method; not an explanation. There is no reason for throwing out the method, and several good ones for keeping it. In the end, the problem lies in treating a terminology as if it can be separated from its multiple contexts, and isolating it to a translation of kin type. Simply because we collect information on the basis of the genealogical method

---

[6] In kinship multiplicity implies that people may be related in multiple ways.

does not mean that is how we should analyze and present it.

To sum up, I have suggested that there are some fundamental problems in the way kin terms have been collected and analyzed among the Dene. The reanalysis of the kin terms, and the literature presented in this chapter, both indicate that the terminologies among the Dene are two-line.

The issue of method should also be raised, largely because there appears to be a lack of genealogical and other data to link to the terminologies. It appears kin terms have been collected in isolation from actual kinship and residential data. Without investigating the multiplicity of kinship relations we can not hope to explain the choices available for the individuals who use the language to classify their kin; and, therefore, we can not hope to explain the variability.

To conclude, in this chapter I have been very critical of past work done on Dene kinship. I would like to emphasize that the criticism presented here is intended to underline the fact that the results obtained in the past are a logical consequence of holding particular views on the nature of kinship, on the nature of kin terminologies, and collecting these terminologies in isolation from any additional context. It is for this reason that I presented the kin terminologies in Chapter One. However, they are the result of isolating kin terminologies from any actual people and any actual places. The purpose of the next section of this thesis is to provide that missing context, and to move to an explanation of the Chipewyan kinship system on the basis of the fieldwork conduct in **Deninoo** in the summer of 1988.

SECTION II: THE CONTEXT

The purpose of this section is to describe the context of kinship in Deninoo. Chapter Four deals with marriage, residence, and groups in Deninoo; Chapter Five deals with marraige, residence, and kinship terminology, and provides a redefinition of Chipewyan kinship terms; Chapter Six deals with the consequences of kinship in Deninoo and the implications for Deninoo in applied matters. Finally, Chapter Seven examines the consequences and implications of this analysis for Anthropology.

In this section I am attempting to move away from the definition of kinship used in the last section, and moving towards a definition of kinship which includes affinity as an essential part of the kinship system.

CHAPTER IV: MARRIAGE,RESIDENCE, AND GROUPS IN DENINOO

In this chapter I examine the topic of marriage and residence within **Deninoo**. In addition to describing some of the forms of marriage, I also present some evidence concerning changes in certain types of marriages, and some of the consequences of these changes. I present information on residence, and describe some subdivisions with the community.

Marriage: a definition

A persistent problem in study across cultures is the definition of marriage (Riviere, 1971). This is a problem within **Deninoo**. When talking to people in English, "marriage" is generally considered to be a church marriage or legal marriage exclusively. However, the children of common-law relationships are sometimes considered to be equal to other children in the family; and they may adopt their father's name regardless of the legalities.

Interviewing elders in Chipewyan is considerably less complicated, and the fine distinctions of living arrangements are not made as in English. As one elder noted: " Oh her, I can't tell you about her. She had about 10 husbands. As soon as she sees a man she gets married to them."(Fieldnotes, Vol.1, August 26, 1988: 180). I have chosen to use the looser definition of marriage largely because it represents the majority view for this study. For this study a marriage is a legal arrangement, or a living arrangement that potentially can produce children.

Reasons For Marriage

Marriage is generally considered a positive, practical arrangement for the two people involved. As such it is a positive institution in which both partners have

something to gain. Often an economic reason will be given for marriage: "I needed someone to wash and cook for me" (male) (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept.1, 1988: 3); or "I needed somebody to make a living for me" (female) (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept.7, 1988: 64). The personality of the spouse may also be a factor in entering into a relationship with a particular person; for example, "We always had lots of fun" (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept.1, 1988: 14).

In our society we would invoke the concept of love, and the existence of love between spouses in this society should not be ruled out (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept.6, 1988: 58); but it is not the most common reason given for getting married. Public displays of affection are rare in **Deninoo**. Indeed, men and women are rarely observed walking or talking together. When wandering about the community one will often observe an elderly couple walking in the same direction; the woman walking a couple feet behind the man[1]. More commonly seen is a group of men or a group of women walking and talking together; or a group of elderly men sitting and visiting on the balcony of the old folks home, on the back step of the Catholic church, or the landing of the log community hall.

Justifiable Reasons for Divorce

Just as marriage in **Deninoo** is not necessarily a legal affair, divorce may involve moving out; and is not necessarily a legalized matter. Again the reasons for divorce divide into two points of view. A female will appeal to her former spouse's inability to support her economically; hence, comments such as: "TB broke up his

[1] If one thinks about Canadian winters this is also a preferred position and not necessarily an indication of female inferiority.

marriage; TB broke up lots of marriages" (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept. 1, 1988: 20). Extended illness could cause such marriage break-up, as well as the inability of men to provide for their family through hunting (Beaulieu, 1988: 6). A male will appeal to other factors such as the inability of the woman to produce children. Today this reason will be given in cases of divorce and/or taking another wife.

Marriage: the topic and interest in the topic

Marriage is a subject area prone to teasing, and in the course of interviewing many puns were made. Puns, of course, are never very funny when you have to explain them, but they are very revealing. It is pleasant to interview people who are generally good humored and enjoy playing verbally with their answers.

Interest in the topic area of kinship varied. Men, on the whole, are not very interested in kinship, although they seem to enjoy talking about marriage (probably because of the teasing potential); and men seem to prefer talking about economic matters if given the choice. Women, on the whole, know more about kin and who actually married whom. Kinship and family relations is a preferred topic of conversation and expertise among women.

Very elderly men, whose wives are no longer alive, seem to know as much as their female counterparts. However, they preface their answers with "I don't know this", and proceed to tell you. If there is anyone alive who can tell you what you asked about, a male will send you to that person, and will claim to know very little himself.

I would suggest that the area of kinship among the people of **Deninoo** is an area of female expertise, and a source of considerable power for women. A man

will not "know" because this knowledge would be intruding not only on his wife's area of interest, but her source of power. In cases in which a man knows more than anyone else living, or knows information he thinks you will not get any other way, he will put a disclaimer on the answer; but he will answer you. Other men will do their best to talk about the price of tobacco in 1930. In mixed company the women will do the talking on kinship; and, while the man may tease a woman, it is obvious who knows the most about the topic area.

Above I mentioned that women's power comes from and is linked to kinship; this power is not just based on who knows what. There are several things that lead me in this direction. One is the fact that they "know" and are considered the authority over these matters. The other is that in the past the groom's mother was consulted on, and had a veto over, marriages before the bride's father was asked permission (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept. 2nd, 1988: 42-43). The bride's mother also seems to have had a veto over the marriage of her daughter. She appears to have had to justify the marriage if questionable[2]. If a marriage is deemed "bad" this notion can additionally lead to enduring resentment on the part of a woman's daughter (Fieldnotes, Vol. 1, Aug. 25th, 1988: 174). Also, men are very concerned about the rate at which women are leaving the community, yet women are advising their daughters not even to date anyone in the community. The young women continue to leave.

---

[2] Whether any particular marriage is good or bad is open in most circumstances and the topic of much gossip.

Types of Marriages

a) Arranged Marriages

Arranged marriages are still remembered, and some very old women had arranged marriages in their first marriage. From the female point of view:

> I didn't want to marry my first husband, my second was on my own. I was only 15 when my parents made me marry and I cried and cried. My second husband I got on my own, he asked me to get married. (Fieldnotes Vol.II, August 27th, 1988: 6).

The pressure to get married was less direct for a man. An elderly gentleman explains (with a considerable amount of humour):

> I was 18 and they told me if I didn't get married they would put me in jail. She was pregnant, I got blamed, and I had to marry her. (Fieldnotes, Vol.I; August 26th, 1988: 181).

Directly arranged marriages ceased to be common somewhere around 60 years ago, so women in their seventies no longer took part in directly arranged marriages. The practice for this younger age group was for the man to ask the woman to marry him, with her father asked for approval. However, men in their seventies described marriage as a somewhat arranged affair:

> Some people would say don't get married to this one. Sometimes a girl's father comes up and says: "you could marry my daughter". There was no choice. (Fieldnotes, Vol.II; Sept. 6th, 1988: 24).

While most parents at this time did not directly arrange marriages, parental interference was continuing; and this interference usually involved the father pressuring his potential son-in-law into marriage with his daughter.

Men in their sixties knew of such practices, but were not involved in arranged marriages. However, vetoing marriages still occurred; and finding a wife could be a long process. One man explains it:

> I wanted to marry ____ _____ because she was an orphan but the nuns told her not to marry me because I drink and gamble too much. Then I wanted to marry _____ _____ but my mother said not to marry her. Then I fell in love with _____ _____; my mother said no. Everyone I wanted to marry my mother said no.
>
> So I asked her (his wife), then we went to the priest. The priest said no, her brother is married to your sister. Well, I said right then and there,"forget about the church". The Bishop sent for me and asked if we loved each other. I said "Yes, Father", and the Bishop said, "okay, get married then". So I went right away to ask her father, he said okay. We are still together. (Fieldnotes Vol. II; Sept.2, 1988· 42-43).

Getting married was not a simple matter when two sets of marriage rules apply.

In the case of arranged marriages, it was the parents who arranged the marriage; in the case of the semi-arranged marriage it was the potential father-in-law who approached his intended choice for his daughter. The third case, the vetoing of the marriage by the mother, may complement the second case. It involves the son's decision being discussed with his family, particularly his mother. The mother more than likely knew more about the kinship implications of the proposed marriages, and the bride's father appears to be concerned with the economic implications.

The change from arranged marriage appears in these cases to be less abrupt, and perhaps less disruptive than arranged marriages ceasing entirely. Unfortunately, I have no information on whether subtle interference, outright vetoing, or arrangement of marriages is continuing.

b. Polygyny

Polygyny was also a traditional practice; and although no mention of it as a modern practice is made by Smith (1982), it is still practiced in Fort Resolution. Its form has changed slightly, in that the women live in different households; and only one of the marriages is legal under Canadian law.

Nonetheless the people of Fort Resolution still define such an arrangement as polygyny, and find it amusing rather than grounds for criticism. As J.G.E. Smith states: "Polygyny was permitted, often with sisters, and was most common among leaders or good hunters" (J.G.E. Smith, 1981: 279). The examples given to me also imply that some degree of power is involved. Of course, it should be remembered that power among the Chipewyan implies supernatural power (Smith, 1982).

c. Other forms of marriage

Second degree cross-cousin marriage occurs at a fairly constant rate. Usually there is at least one second degree cross-cousin marriage in each genealogy. Another form of marriage which continues to be notable is a brother-sister pair marrying a sister-brother pair, and a group of brothers who marry a group of sisters[3]. Among the Dene generally, this type of marriage in which a group of brothers marries a group of sisters occurs fairly regularly (Asch, 1980; 1988; Ives, 1985; D.M.Smith, 1969).

Exogamy

There are strong sanctions against marriage of people from the same place.

---

[3] Group is used here because I have examples of up to four brothers marrying four sisters. In this particular case the only sister of the four brothers married the only brother of the four sisters.

Marriages within the same place between second cross cousins[4] are criticized by other females, although they may not be any closer (genealogically) than a dozen marriages that occur with individuals from outside of **Deninoo**.

"Knowing" about someone is linked to local group exogamy. Once someone leaves the area, his relatives do not "know" his wife nor do they "know" the names of his descendants. They do know where he is living. "Know" is in quotation marks because it is linked to more than simply knowing your relatives. People know that they are related to that family in that place, but they are not quite as socially relevant as the people with whom one is presently living. In English we would distinguish between "knowing of" someone and "knowing" them.

In **Deninoo** elders "don't know" relatives they have never seen. As an elderly informant queried: "How could I know my Grandfather when he died before I was born?" (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept.1, 1988: 20). The only answer I ever got to: whom is it good to marry? was: "you should marry someone you do not know" (Fieldnotes, Vol. I, July 27, 1988: 97). Hence, judging from the criticism of local marriages, the genealogies, and the statements made, the people of **Deninoo** are ideally exogamous to **Deninoo**.

Among the Dene as a whole, the only marriage stricture stated in the literature is not to marry too close (Asch, 1980; Asch ,1988[5]). However, the

---

[4] While many people when talking about cousins distinguish first cousins, when gossiping about marriages "cousins" are "cousins" and all these marriages are fair game.

[5] Asch describes this: "Positive sanction, then, is given only to marriage among persons who are defined as cross-cousins with no tie through biology or residence" (Asch, 1988: 48).

tendency in fact is that women marry out (Asch,1988; Deprez and Bisson, 1975; Helm, 1968; Ives, 1985; and D.M. Smith, 1982).

Men are particularly concerned with this rule of exogamy (Smith, 1982); and men explain it in terms of local girls, who are better educated, not wanting to marry local boys. On the whole, men will not criticize, nor state rules of marriage. However, women will state that cousin marriage is not good, and do criticize certain marriages. After investigating genealogies one soon realizes that virtually everyone in Fort Resolution, indeed, virtually everyone in **Denendeh**[6], is related.

Community and Residence

Throughout this thesis I have referred to the "community"; this is a difficult concept, for although there is a place called Fort Resolution (**Deninoo**), there is nothing indicating that this is a community in our sense of the word. People in **Deninoo** do not move beyond their kindred circle[7], there is no active principle of neighbor, and when public events occur people tend to remain in kindred groups. From what I've seen there is no active principle of locality which supercedes kinship; rather, it is the opposite. If you live in the same place you are obviously kin.

Fort Resolution is an artificial creation, and is comprised of families from four territories: between the Buffalo and Little Buffalo Rivers; between the Little

---

[6] **Denendeh** is the territory in which the Dene live. I use it here because the artificial border between the Territories and the provinces cuts across **Denendeh**, which includes those relatives living south of the 60th parallel.

[7] It is in observation of behaviour that Helm's concept of a nodal kindred is useful, with one adjustment: interaction groups form on the basis of a same-sex sibling, or a same-sex affinal link.

Buffalo and the Slave River; between the Slave River and the Talston; and between the Talston and Thubun Rivers. The movement of families into Fort Resolution varied in time from area to area.

Smith (1982) mentions the division of Fort Resolution into the Little Buffalo River and Rocher River peoples; however, he does not mention the two areas between the Little Buffalo and the Talston Rivers[8]. The historic settlements are the Buffalo River settlement on the Buffalo River, the Little Buffalo River settlement on the Little Buffalo River (W-E); Fort Resolution and Salt River on the Slave (N-S); Jean River and Stoney Island between the Slave and Talston (W-E); and, Rocher River and Rat River Settlements between the Talston and Thubun Rivers (N-S) (see Figure 20 next page).

The people in these smaller settlements, which were usually permanent houses built at fish camps, dispersed at different times. However, as settlement groups dispersed the family groups also split. For example, Smith (1982) notes that when the Buffalo River settlement dispersed due to epidemic, half the settlement moved to Hay River; the other half moved to Little Buffalo River.

Today in Fort Resolution there are basically two very large families who represent a fission of the historic family of the original Fort Resolution settlement. However, there are also other smaller extended family groups; so today Fort Resolution contains people from four reasonably distinct regions in the surrounding

---

[8] Smith (1982) additionally divides Indian and Métis in the community. The two areas overlooked are Métis. However, the Métis-Treaty Indian division is not all that clear cut as I will explain later.

Figure 20: Historic Settlements

area.

Until recently each of these family groups lived in a particular area within Fort Resolution. However, this pattern is starting to get "all mixed up". "All mixed up" is the description used by people in Resolution for both kinship and residence. People remember that families lived in certain areas within the town; but now this grouping is

"all mixed up". To a degree this change is due to projects such as low rental housing. Such projects provide blocks of housing which are not filled on the basis of family but on the basis of need. This new development contributes to a residential mixing which complicates matters considerably.

In the context of kinship, "all mixed up" serves to continue marriages outside of the community, in an atmosphere in which people have developed a different way of looking at kinship. It serves to keep children from looking too closely within the community for marriage partners. However, given the new way of reckoning kin (ie., English), "all mixed up and only worse in the old days" (Journal, July 20, 1988) is a statement of fact as well.

"All mixed up" in terms of residence is a description, and is more a statement of fact than a negative comment. As far as the residential "mixing-up", I concur with the people of **Deninoo**. If there are any major divisions within residential groups I have not found them. Although wards are discernable by looking at the actual roads rather than the grids, they are small and numerous. The number of small wards is not surprising when one considers that we are looking at an original movement from a large number of local groups, and given the processes of

fission and fusion as each local group dispersed. Additionally, the original Fort Resolution local group fissioned on the basis of an opposite-sex sibling pair, and a wife-stealing episode. "All mixed up" seems appropriate. Nonetheless, same-sex siblings tend to live within the same ward and opposite-sex siblings tend to live at least across a road from their siblings, if not on the other side of town (Figure 21, next page). However, there are exceptions to the tendency for opposite sex siblings to live across a road from each other.

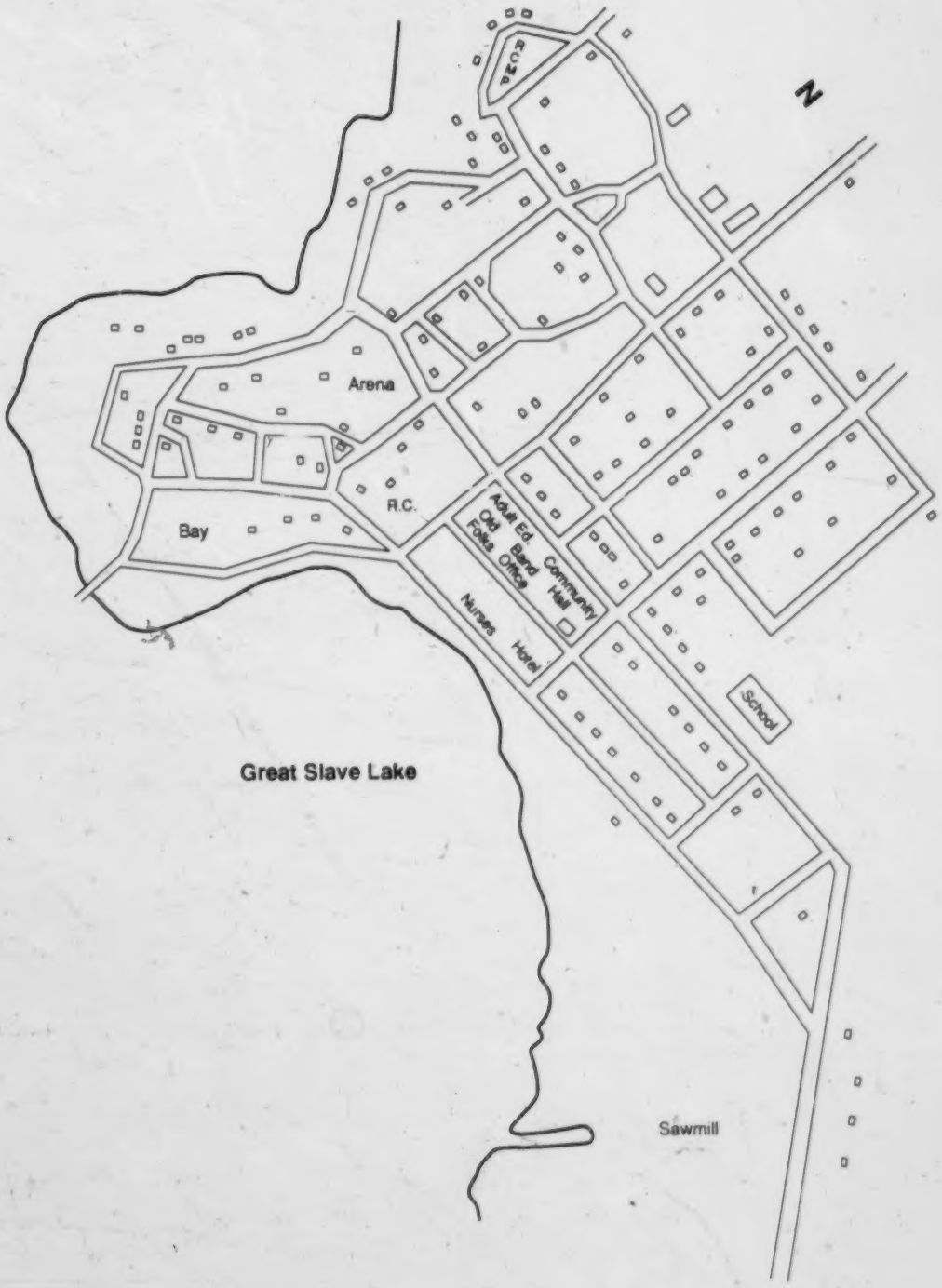
To add to the confusion, **Deninoo** is presently experiencing a seemingly rapid decline in population, as well as the building of new houses by those staying within **Deninoo**. At this particular moment in time there is considerable residential shifting occurring.

Métis-Dene Division

There is a particular historic period in Fort Resolution when many men were imported into town; during the height of steam boat travel, and probably the height of Fort Resolution as an economically booming centre. As one man explained, many men came up to work on the boats, married in the area, and never saw their relatives again (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, August 31, 1988: 1). There was at least one historic period, then, in which a number of men came into the area. This influx has inspired some people to argue that **Deninoo** is a Métis community, in which virtually everybody is from somewhere else.

This is to a certain extent true. In the case of Fort Resolution, it was the marriages into the Métis families living in town which permitted the movement of status people into town. The movement into Resolution was a fairly long historical

Figure 21: a Map of **Deninoo**



process, and the ties necessary to move into town were established and maintained long before the move occurred. But as I understand the marriage rules, the result of area exogamy would be that you could always see people from elsewhere because one-half would always be from outside. Also because of the bilateral nature of the kinship system, it can be either a male or female that can be imported or exported.

In the past, studies on Fort Resolution have divided Métis from Treaty and analyzed them separately (Deprez and Bisson, 1975). I abandoned such a division because I could see no social correlate in marriage or behaviour patterns[9]. This legal distinction is purely the creation of the Canadian government, and even the government was not consistent on its stand on status. In the Resolution area the Department of Indian Affairs extended Treaty status in the 1930s to Métis whom they deemed culturally "Indian" (Smith, 1981: 688-689).

Deprez and Bisson (1975) state:

> The fact that few or no mixed marriages (between Indians and Métis) existed and that both groups do not interrelate is important and should be borne in mind when reading the following conclusions. The fact that two communities existed virtually side by side with little or no relation between them, governed to an extent by different sets of laws, delineates in a very clear way the setting in which two different evolutions could take place. (Deprez and Bisson, 1975: 90).

This rather extreme statement may, in fact, be a result of the local exogamy. Nonetheless, I wonder how Deprez and Bisson would explain two brothers one who is Treaty and the other who is not; or, indeed, how the Métis settled in the area, and continued to expand in numbers over time; or why the Department of Indian

---

[9] Approximately one-quarter of my sample were technically Métis, but the majority of these Métis informants did not speak English.

Affairs in the 1930s extended treaty to certain non-treaty people because they were "culturally" Indian? While Deprez and Bisson are extreme, they do exemplify an approach in which understanding is based on a imposed foreign legal system.

From what I could see at the community level, the Métis are a part of the overall marriage system in the area, both presently and historically. The information that I could gather indicates that the Métis are as entangled in the kinship web as anyone else, speak the Chipewyan language as much as anyone else, and act like any Dene.

Slobodin (1981) describes the Métis kinship system as:

> ... essentially Euro-American. What is not at all obvious, but may be discerned upon prolonged acquaintance, is that Northern Métis also operate in terms of Eskimo and Indian kinship patterns when interacting with their kinsmen of those communities (Slobodin, 1981: 362).

Looking at the surnames which are obviously Métis, one sees that the forms of marriage are the same as the treaty Dene. One sees the occurrence of second degree cross-cousin marriage and sibling groups marrying sibling groups in these families as frequently as among treaty people.

I am not really sure how one would sort these people out in a bilateral system. I maintain that the Métis are completely part of the structure of kinship and marriage in Deninoo. This is the Dene's stand on this issue as well; the Métis are relatives; and, therefore, as much Dene as anyone else.

The Métis have often been credited with the role of agents of cultural change. For example, Slobodin (1981) asserts:

> Nevertheless, for many generations Subarctic Métis have been pioneers and agents in culture change, for instance, in language and

kinship usage. (Slobodin, 1981: 369).

Attributing change in relationship usage to the Métis may be convenient, but it does not explain the persistent variability in the relationship terminologies. I would suggest that this variability was not imported by the Métis, but rather is a general feature of MacKenzie Basin Dene terminologies.

CHAPTER V: MARRIAGE, RESIDENCE, AND CHIPEWYAN TERMINOLOGY

This chapter examines the problems raised in consideration of the kin terminology on the basis of my fieldwork in the summer of 1988. As I mentioned in the last chapter, the marriage pattern of sibling groups marrying sibling groups is a fairly common form throughout the entire region. There are two kinds of marriage of sibling groups discussed in this chapter, and both of these are practiced in **Deninoo.** One is a group of brothers marrying a group of sisters, and the other is a Sister-Brother pair marrying a Brother-Sister pair. These two patterns of marriage complicate the multiplicity common in small scale societies. In fact, it is these two forms of marriage which, in addition to residence patterns, appears to be connected with the terminological variance.

Relationship terminology and Marriage

Smith's fieldnotes explains **sete** : "Sometimes, pretty often, men would marry each other's sisters. Men would call each other **sete**, and so would the girls" (D.M. Smith, August 2, 1969: 1).[1] The example of the mother and priest vetoing marriages in the last chapter (p.64-65) should be recalled; the marriage which was finally acceptable to the mother was refused by the priest. The couple was refused on the grounds that the future bride's brother (WB) was married to the groom's sister (HZ). In earlier chapters this type of marriage has been called Brother-Sister and Sister-Brother marriage.

This type of marriage is actually explained by Asch (1988):

---

[1] D.M. Smith graciously sent me a copy of an interview schedule from Fort Resolution. This interview was conducted in 1969.

> M: Did brothers marry sisters? Not their own sisters. But if you married one sister would your brother marry the other?
> T: Vice versa. You marry you brother-in-law's sister.
> M: And he marries your sister?
> T: Uh, huh. That was in line. Because you are not of the same blood. (Asch, 1988: 49).

Levi-Strauss (1967) would call this form of marriage sister-exchange, and it is a prototypical example of direct exchange between two groups.

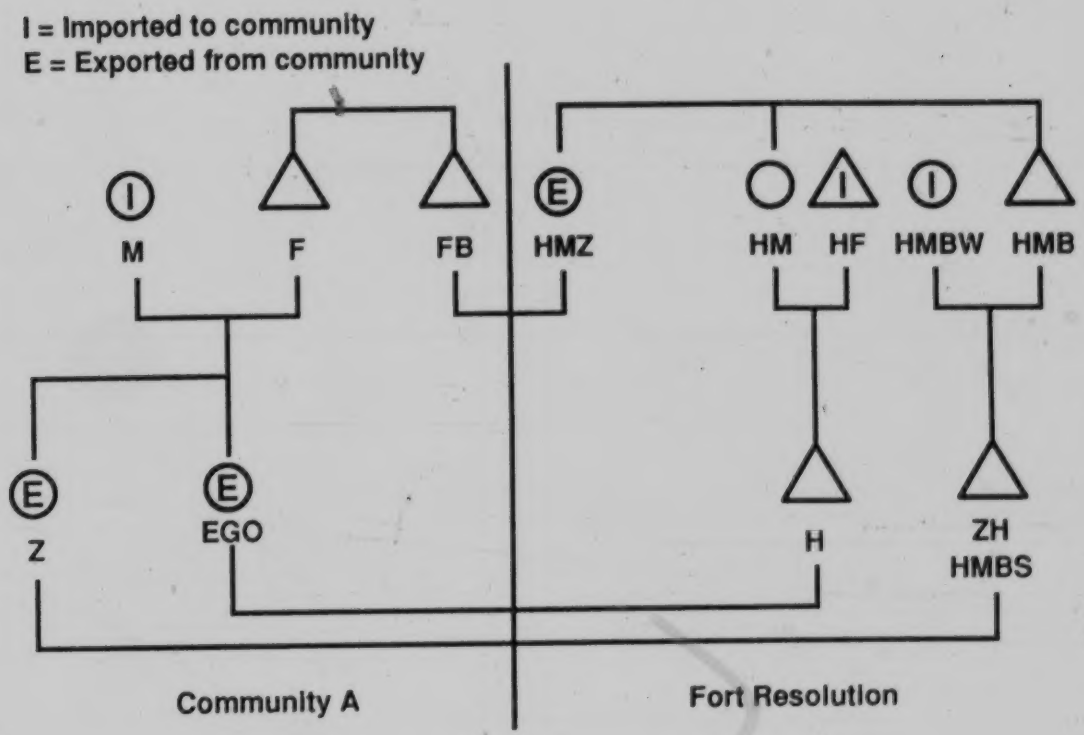
While direct exchange is practiced, a group of brothers marrying a group of sisters is also common. The case of a group of brothers marrying a group of sisters is sometimes associated with a marriage occurring in the previous generation which is neither direct exchange as noted above nor a group of brothers marrying a group of sister's in ego's generation. This situation is best illustrated in an example taken from an actual genealogy (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept. 6, 1988: 47-51) found in Figure 22 on the next page.

In the example given above ego's husband's mother's sister (HMZ) left Fort Resolution to marry ego's father's brother (FB). Ego and her sister married two classifactory brothers, and both presently reside in Fort Resolution. The two communities are illustrated in the figure by a vertical line; this line marks where people were raised. Post-nuptial residence is marked by an I for imported or an E for exported.

This kind of exchange is common; a married couple with this kind of relationship in the ascending generation will explain they are not related; but her aunt is married to his uncle, or vice versa (Fieldnotes, Vol. 1, July 16, 1988: 59-60). Additionally they will note that this is "okay" since uncle is the same word as

father-in-law (ibid:60).

Figure 22 An example of delayed exchange

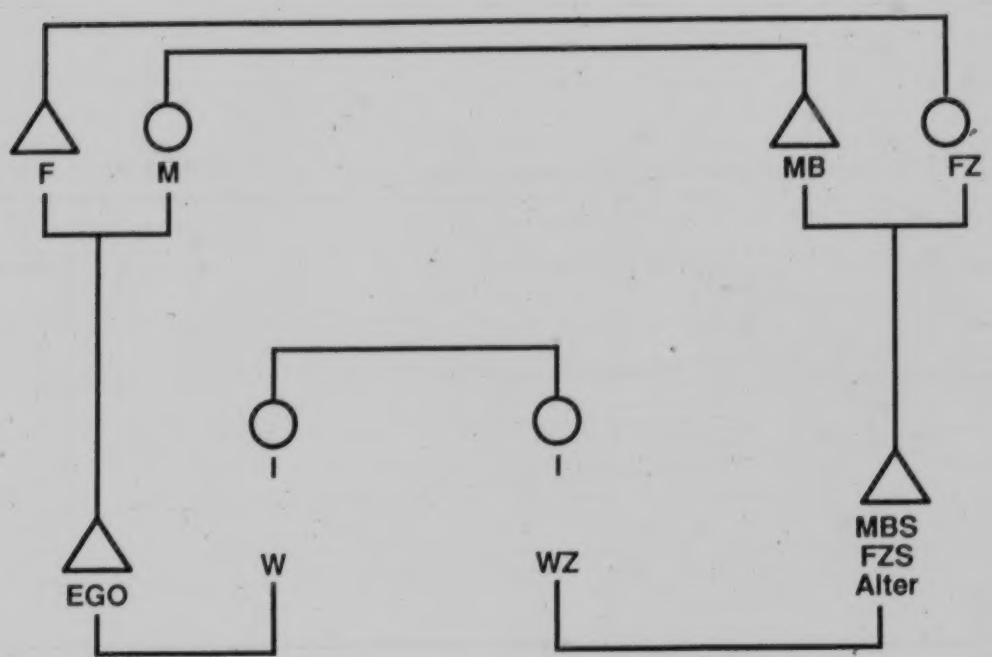


The two kinds of sibling group marriage somewhat explains the terminology in this generation. Men who call each other brother, **sonarɛ** or **sɛtɛ̌ɛlɛ**, and marry a pair of sisters, call each other "brother-in-law", **sɛtɛ**, (ms: WB, BWB, WZH) after the marriage (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept. 6, 1988: 61). Given the three choices of **sonarɛ**, **sɛla**, and **sɛtɛ**, a man will choose the latter. This example is illustrated

in Figure 23 on below[1].

Additionally, this treatment of same-sex sibling marriage may explain the terminological equivalencies in the first ascending generation (sɛ?a = FB,

Figure 23: A simplified explanation of "he was my cousins, **sɛla**, but I called him **sonar**ɛ before marriage, and **s**ɛtɛ after marriage." (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept.6, 1988: 61).



I = Imported from outside of Fort Resolution for Ego's generation

MB, EF). If my father's brother (FB) marries my mother's sister (MZ), then I have

[1] It is important to note in Figure 23 that the direct exchange in the first ascending generation (F=M and MB=FZ) co-exists with the marriage of a pair of sisters to a pair of classifactory brothers in ego's generation. The other half of the delayed exchange occurred in the previous generation (+1) but is not illustrated in this figure.

a choice in what I call my father's brother and my mother's sister. My father's brother is both my father's brother and mother's sister's husband (MZH), and equally my mother's sister is both my mother's sister and my father's brother's wife (FBW). The female terms in the first ascending generation are a bit more complicated, and who belongs in these categories will vary from speaker to speaker.

Sąk?iɛ includes father's sister (FZ) and mother's sister (MZ) invariably; but men occasionally will call mother's brother's wife (MBW) and father brother's wife (FBW) **setso** ,as well as wife's mother (EM). Females call all female relatives **sąk?iɛ** and reserve **sɛtso** for husband's mother (HM). This development would be more consistent with a movement towards English terminology.

However, the use of three terms for females in the first ascending generation is coupled with **sɛ?a** for father's brother (FB), mother's brother (MB), and father-in-law (WF). It is not difficult to comprehend that two men who call themselves **sɛtɛ** become **sɛ?a** to the next generation. Hence, it is relatively easy to explain how mother's brother is equated with father's brother (MB=FB). Given the female tendency to emphasize the kin side rather than the affinal side, we can also understand how father's sister is equated with mother's sister (FZ=MZ) in this terminology. The result is an affinal equivalency in the male terms, and a non-equivalency in the female terms.

While I was never able to find someone who uses the cross-parallel terminology in **Deninoo,** I have a strong suspicion that it may still be in use. One man was telling me about meeting a man at a political meeting who told him, "Don't call me uncle, call me Father-in-law. I have a bunch of good looking girls"

(Fieldnotes Vol. I; August 19, 1988: 161). The man who said this was MFZDH to ego. While this conversation makes sense in English, it reflects a kinship reasoning not consistent with English nor the Chipewyan terminologies I collected. However, it is consistent with Terminology Number Four presented in Chapter One (the cross-parallel terminology).

Additionally, when I asked an informant if there was any way to distinguish father's brother (FB) from mother's brother (MB) the agitated reply was "it's not Father if that is what you mean" (Fieldnotes, Vol. I, July 27, 1988: 96)[3]. I was actually looking for **sɛta bon** and **ɛnɛ bon**. Also, it was suggested to me that in situations in which father's brother married mother's sister, these cousins were just like real sisters or brothers (Fieldnotes, Vol.I, August 13, 1988: 142). This pattern, of course, would result in the cross-parallel distinction in ego's generation, if the other "cousins" lived elsewhere.

The problem of sɛla

In addition to the reordering of the terminology in the first ascending generation on the basis of marriage, there is also a residential aspect which explains the terminology in ego's and the first descending generation. The explanation for **sɛla** given to Smith was:

> Well, we did use **sela**, but for MZS, MZD, MZS, FZD, MBS, MBD, FBS, FBD, B and Z when they lived in some other place and we didn't know them very well. (August 2, 1969: 1).

---

[3] In some Chipewyan dialects **sɛta** is father and **sɛta zɛ** is father's brother. In Chipewyan **-azɛ** is a diminutive meaning "small". So a translation of **sɛta zɛ** would be "my little father".

I would suggest that here lies the problem of **scla**. It is applied to "cousins" who are not co-resident.

In the case of the only very elderly informant who used the Mission terminology first recorded by Sharp (1979), his father had come from elsewhere. His explanation of why people call their "cousins", "brothers and sisters" is:

> Now people don't know how they are related and they call each other by their own names. Now is different, they use cousin for all. We used cousin when we were talking about people, and other than that used brother and sister. (Fieldnotes, Vol. II; August 31, 1988: 4).

While an anthropologist might take this statement as the suggestion that the two systems are terms of address and reference respectively, this person had never seen his cousins, and did not know their names because they all lived elsewhere. In other words, he never had the opportunity to address them[4].

When one asks a person who calls their "cousins" "brothers or sisters" about address and reference, they say that they call their "cousins", "brothers or sisters" both when talking to them and when talking about them (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, August 31: 10). I would suggest an alternate explanation: perhaps the elder is indicating that "in the old days" one used **scla** when talking about people who lived far away; and other than that, one used "brother" and "sister".

While the oldest generation refer to "cousins" they know as "brothers" and "sisters", and "cousins" they don't know as "cousins"; it is the residential aspect which explains whom one knows and whom one doesn't. It is also the actual

---

[4] Terms of reference are used for developing and analyzing terminologies, and all the terminologies discussed in this thesis are based on terms of reference. I have no observational data on the use of terms of address, but I did ask several people about the difference.

physical distance of these relatives which explains the variance in terminologies for this generation. What I am suggesting is that the cousin terminology in question reflects physical distance between relatives. However, this residential principle is operating within a two-line kinship terminology.

Whom people know influences the extent of genealogical knowledge, and is linked to what one calls whom. Some elders will not know someone they have never seen, and will not have a term for these people. Additionally, they state they never talked about relatives they never saw. Not knowing about certain relatives results in large gaps in the genealogies, particularly in identification of grandparents and certain cousins (usually FZC or MBC, but not both).

The gaps in the genealogies also mean that informants are very reticent to develop models of the kinship system, and questions of an ideal sort rarely receive an answer. The elders I worked with do not know their relatives whom they have never seen, including those that died before they were born. This lacuna occurred in virtually every genealogy collected from elders 70 and over. Personal experience, especially "seeing", seems to make a relationship socially relevant[5]. Cross examination on the basis of any statement seems to take the form of: "Did you see this yourself?" (Fieldnotes, Vol I., Aug. 19, 1988: 162). With this strict form of evidence giving, "speaking one's mind" usually is a fairly factual exercise.

What I am suggesting is the cousin terminology which appears Hawaiian (Terminology One in Chapter One) is maintained by not knowing, and by not ever

---

[5] It has been argued that "seeing" among the Slavey is the basis of personal knowledge (Jean Guy Goulet, 1987).

having talked about certain cousins. This Hawaiian-like cousin terminology involves having most or all of your "cousins" living in the same place as you. The use of **sɛla** for all "cousins" involves having no "cousins" living in the same area as you.

However, younger generations do "know" their cousins and have seen them, even if they live some distance away. Hence, they will explain the use of the Hawaiian-like cousin terminology in terms of:

> In the old days people didn't know who their cousins were, so they called them brother and sister. Now we know all our cousins so we call them cousin. (Fieldnotes, Vol.I, August 26, 1988: 174).

Thus the younger generation does somewhat understand the reasoning behind the "cousin" terminologies, and they do understand that it is connected to whether or not the elders "knew" these relatives. However, they don't appear to have made the link between whom you know and where they live. Shortly after this statement the informant added that "they knew their cousins, but..." (Fieldnotes, Vol.I, August 26, 1988: 174), and abandoned this explanation.

Each of these terminologies serves to mark certain forms of marriage and residence, allowing a great deal of flexibility at the individual level. The way an elder calls his or her "cousins" clearly marks whom he or she knows and whom he or she does not know. Those cousins one knows are called **sonarɛ or setčɛlɛ** and **sarɛ or sɛdɛzɛ** "brothers and sisters". Those cousins one does not know are called **sɛla**.

Whom one applies the term **sɛla** to changes on the basis of where he or she lives. The meaning of the categories is not changing; rather, whom one applies them to changes. This pattern produces different terminologies (anthropologically

speaking), a situation which does not seem to upset anybody. There is absolutely no controversy over this situation: what people call their "cousins" varies between people.

A Redefinition of Chipewyan Kinship Terminology

It is now necessary and possible to redefine the kinship terms according to the data I received, and the statement of informants concerning the nature of the terminology. I first use the English translation; and, then, describe the kin terms as they reflect who is called this term on the basis of the information in my fieldnotes (Volumes 1 and 2). This redefinition is found in Figure 24 on the next page.

Figure 24 A Redefinition of Chipewyan Kin Terms

sɛɛi: my "grandfather"; my male relatives second ascending generation.

sɛɛu: my "grandmother"; my female relatives second ascending generation.

sɛta: my "father": my male lineal relative first ascending generation.

ɛnɛ: my "mother": my female lineal relative first ascending generation.

sąʔkiɛ: my "aunt": my female relatives first ascending generation.

sɛʔa: my "uncle": my male relatives and affinal relatives first ascending generation.

sɛɛo : my "mother-in-law": my female affinal relatives first ascending generation.

sonarɛ: my elder "brother": my male relatives who live in the same place as me, who are older than me, and belong to the same generation as me.

sɛtčelɛ: my younger "brother": my male relatives who live in the same place as me, who are younger than me, and belong to the same generation as me.

Figure 24 A Redefinition of Chipewyan Kin Terms

sarɛ:	my elder "sister": my female relatives who live in the same place as me, who are older than me, and belong to the same generation as me.
sɛdɛzɛ:	my younger "sister": my female relatives who live in the same place as me, who areyounger than me, and belong to the same generation as me.
Sɛla:	my "Cousins"[6]: my relatives and my affinal relatives, same generation as myself, who do not live in the same place as me, my relatives and affinal relatives whom I do not know.
sɛla:	my "cousins": my relatives of the same generation as myself, who do not live in the same place as me, and whom I do not know.
sɛtɛ:	my "brother-in-law"(Male speaker); my "sister-in-law" (Female speaker): my same-sex affinal relatives of my generation.
sɛcu:	my "Sister-in-law" (male speaker): my opposite-sex affinal relatives of my generation, male speaker.
sɛčai:	my "brother-in-law" (female speaker): my opposite-sex affinal relatives of my generation, female speaker.
sɛ'azɛ:	my "son": my male relatives who live in the same place as me, first descending generation.
sɛlinazɛ:	my "daughter": my female relatives who live in the same place as me, descending generations.
sazɛ:	my "child-in-law" (male speaker): my relatives and affinal relatives, who do not live in the same place as me, first descending generation, male speaker.
	my "son-in-law" (female speaker): my male relatives and affinal relatives, who do not live in the same place as me, first descending generation, female speaker.
sarazɛ:	my "daughter-in-law" (female speaker): my female relatives and affinal relatives, who do not live in the same place as me and, descending generations, female speaker.

[6] There is evidence that even in using English people will use Cousins in a general sense (Journal, July 20, 1988).

Figure 24 A Redefinition of Chipewyan Kin Terms

sonarazɛ/
sonazɛ: my "grandson": my male relatives second descending generation.

It is not necessary to choose which type of terminology is correct: they all are and they all are not. The persistent variability over the years among the Dene is due to a different kind of classification than those based on kin types.

The relation of Sɛla and sɛtɛ

As I have emphasized, the distinction between **Sɛla** and **sɛtɛ** linguistically is largely based on a relative sex distinction. I would also suggest **Sɛla** is a potential category and **sɛtɛ** is a post facto category. I would like at this point to discuss some of the linguistic aspects of these two terms. My data are consistent with Sharp's (1979) description of **Sɛla**; the term includes affines and affines of affines. Calling affines of affines **Sɛla** is the preferred treatment in Deninoo. However, while one may call affinal relatives **Sɛla**, relatives are not called **sɛtɛ** and the other affinal terms.

On the basis of the literature or the fieldwork conducted in **Deninoo**, there is no reason to consider **Sɛla** a term which can simply be distinguished from affinal terms on the basis of a collateral dimension. In fact, language usage simply does not support the view of a simple binary opposition. Obviously, certain speakers do use **Sɛla** in a restricted sense (here indicated as **sɛla**); but other speakers use it in a general sense. Still other speakers will completely avoid the use of the term **Sɛla**, by stating they have never talked about relatives whom they do not know.

There is a linguistic hierarchy involved with this term. Dumont (1986)

defines hierarchy:

> To be distinguished from power, or command: order resulting from the consideration of value. The elementary hierarchial relation (or hierarchial opposition) is that between a whole (or a set) and an element of that whole (or set) - or else that between two parts with reference to the whole. It can be analyzed in two contradictory aspects belonging to different levels: it is a distinction within an identity, **an encompassing of the contrary**. Hierarchy is thus bidimensional. (Dumont, 1986: 279 emphasis in original)

In the case of **Sɛla**, the term includes **sɛla** in its restricted form and distinguished from **sɛtɛ** and the other affinal terms. However, the term **Sɛla** includes both of these. The relation between **Sɛla** and **sɛla, sɛtɛ, secu**, and **sɛčai** is one of hierarchial opposition. Hence, the term **Sɛla** can be analyzed in two different ways.

The statement made by the people of **Deninoo** that "you should marry someone you do not know" does not tell one very much until one realizes whom one knows is clearly defined. Add to this fact the suggestion of Smith's informant that one uses **Sɛla** for those kin one does not know, and the fact that informants do not know kin who live outside the local group, and the logical conclusion is that **Sɛla** is an alliance category.

As well, the hierarchial opposition is a required concept to explain the positive marriage rule that one should marry someone whome one does not know (**Sɛla**); for in the restricted sense of **sɛla** there is no visible affinal content. The terminology then structurally defines the alliance category of **Sɛla**, in spite of the alternatives[7]. The terminology defines relatives in such a way as to allow the local

[7] It is important to remember that with arranged marriages **Sɛla** would be important for the next generation. In other words, **Sɛla** is the category in which I would arrange my daughter's marriage.

exogamy to be realized. The structure of this system is well-tuned; it defines the affinal category and allows for alternatives.

Women do tend to prefer to live with their sisters. Hence, men and women will use the terminologies differently, and women will explain that it is not good to have too many **sɛčai**[8] (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept. 1, 1988: 12). This preference may explain why the men will use **Sɛla** more often than women; and women will tend to use **sɛla** or avoid the use by never having talked about certain relatives. This kind of logical contradiction is another feature common in ~~hier~~archical oppositions.

In the previous chapters I have argued that the standard typologies of kinship terms can not explain the system of kin classification used by the elderly Chipewyan speakers in the community of **Deninoo**, and in the MacKenzie Drainage Dene languages in general. In the case of **Deninoo**, people are classified by the elders on the basis of where they live relative to where their kin live, or have lived. The principles are a division between people whom one lives with and people whom one does not live with. In other words, there are kin places and affine places. Kin places are places where you have lived, and kin are people you live with. Affines come from a place where you have never lived.

All of the different types of terminologies recorded over the years among the Chipewyan have one feature in common: they are all two-line systems. Whether one divides these kin into categories of Same or Different Place; Know or Don't Know; Kin or Allies; or Consanguines or Affines, these are all dual classifications.

---

[8] **Sɛcai** is used by a female speaker for male affines in her generation, and can be used for one's husband as well.

The differences between the Chipewyan terminologies used by the elders depends upon the marriage and residence patterns that actually occur. In the case of Smith's (1982) terminology, some of the relatives live in the same area; and those that do live together are called "brother and sister". **Sɛla** does not occur in this terminology because one does not talk about people one does not know. In the case of the cross-parallel pattern as produced by MacNeish (1960), the women have left the community, and the men have remained in the locality; or visa versa. Sharp's (1979) terminology is the result of having no cousins or siblings in the area in which one is living. They are hence, **sɛla**, because one does not know them. This is not a collateral fissioning; it is exactly in line with the reasoning that produces the Hawaiian-like cousin terminology. It is simply the polar opposite of the reasoning which produces Smith's (1982) terminology.

The use of this terminology is not amorphous and confusing; who is and who is not related, and who is and is not marriageable is very clearly defined. Additionally, exogamy is also defined. One simply marries someone one does not "know". Given that one does not "know" relatives that one has never seen, or that one does not "know" relatives one has never lived with, the residential principle is supported in a very concrete manner. I maintain that "you marry someone you do not know" is a positive marriage rule. Clearly, the system used by the people of **Deninoo** is a two-line system, in which both kin and affines are clearly defined; and, I would add, inherited from one generation to the next.

What kind of terminology is this?

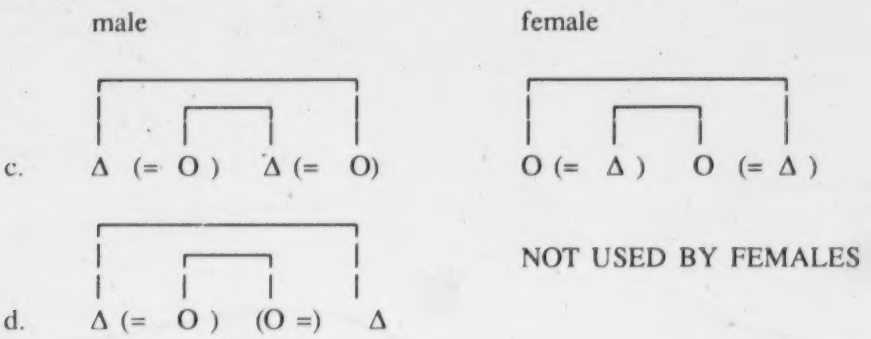
The Chipewyan terminology clearly relates to Dumont's Dravidian terminology at least in some of its forms. Dumont (1953) began with linguistic distinctions of generation, sex, and age. These criteria have been used in the past to argue that the Slavey use a Dravidianate terminology (Ives, 1985; Asch, 1988). I, however, see Chipewyan terminology as something different but related to Dravidianate terminologies in some features.

Dumont (1953) includes a number of equivalencies to illustrate the logic of the Dravidian system. The illustration below is representative of the logic which is based on the relationship of same-sex affines (Δ [=] Δ ; O [=] O). Dumont (1953; 1983) argues that this logic is a feature of (positive) marriage rules. It is the relationship of same-sex affines which is the basis of a marriage institution, and allows the institution of marriage to take on a diachronic aspect. This diachronic aspect produces marriages which are inherited from one generation to the next (Dumont, 1983: 71-73). This Δ [=] Δ logic also explains the kin terminology of the Dravidian languages (ibid : 74). The following is the logic that can be made for the Chipewyan:

Figure 25 Dravidian logic and then some

	male	female
a.	Δ [=] Δ	O [=] O
b.	Δ(= O)Δ	O(=Δ) O

Figure 25 Dravidian logic and then some



The first two of the equations were used to illustrate the logic of Dravidian systems in Dumont's (1953) article. The last two are a particularly Chipewyan addition to the logic.

These equivalencies are all based on the marriage link between same-sex individuals. In both cases, these equivalencies are operating to make alliance central to the system of reckoning kin. Placed in this context, even marriage between sets of same-sex siblings is consistent with the Dravidian logic illustrated in the first two cases. Hence, while Chipewyan logic is somewhat related to Dravidian it also remains somewhat distinct.

Both the Dravidian and Dene examples have implications for kinship and residence. Space for the Dravidian speakers is divided into kin places and affine places, and so with their residence practices the resulting division of space is into Kin-Affine-Kin. Additionally, affines of my affines invariably are kin, or "brothers" (Dumont, 1983: 77); for the Chipewyan space is divided into Relatives-Affinal Relatives; and affines of affines remain affines.

In Affinity as a Value, Dumont (1983) reiterates his stand that in Dravidian systems affinity has an equivalent value to consanguinity (Dumont, 1983: 32). He contrasts this value with our own system which places an unequal value on consanguinity (ibid: 32). In the case of the Chipewyan speakers of **Deninoo,** affinity is given an unequal value[9] over consanguinity, as illustrated above by the statements of informants.

Thus rather than affinity having an equal status in the consanguinity-affinity dichotomy, this particular system has a decided weight towards the affinal side. In the case of the Chipewyan terminologies, extensionist analysis can not even be entertained, for it simply does not account for the values placed by the speakers in this system.

I would also suggest that in this system, the terminology is much more global in nature than the Dravidian example. Dumont (1983) distinguishes between two types of systems with positive marriage rules: those that determine the spouse through a system of classes, and those that determine the spouse through individual relationship. This division is consistent with Levi-Strauss' similar distinction (Levi-Strauss, 1969: xxxiv). What we are dealing with here is a global alliance system which divides the world into two on the basis of co-residence and non-residence. The entire outside, unknown world, is a marriage class.

Additionally, in an article called "The Anthropological Community and Ideology" (1986), Dumont argues that "dualist organization", or the division of the social world into two, must involve hierarchial opposition in order to produce a

---

[9] Value in this work in based on the choices actually made by informants.

"dyadic totality" (Dumont, 1986: 230). In **Deninoo** the hierarchial opposition serves to unite the outside affinal world and the inside world so that marriage (uniting) can actually occur. Hence, **Sɛla** acts as a potential affinal category and **sɛtɛ** acts as an actual affinal category.

Dumont would also add that the existence of a hierarchial opposition is a feature common to traditional societies which do not operate on a philosophy based on individualism (Dumont, 1986: 227). Rather, hierarchical oppositions occur frequently in philosophies based on holism in which people are viewed as part of a social whole, and are defined on that basis.

A story of kinship, residence, and power

A fairly common feature in Chipewyan society is the Medicine-fight story (D.M. Smith, 1988). This particular medicine-fight story fits the subject of my thesis, as it contains all the elements so far discussed. I believe this coincidence is no accident; it was the way a very elderly man could sum up several themes of an interview in a particularly interesting and memorable manner.

This medicine-fight story was told to me at the conclusion of one of the formal interviews. It is as follows:

> Boy in the old days, there were a lot of people dying. Now they live because they have good doctors. Once my brother got sick. The Cree guy had a small teepee, round and about so high (three feet), covered with canvas. It had a small door and even really big guys would crawl in there. Inside that teepee where the Cree goes in, you could hear moose, bear, even bees (in the winter) inside that tent. I seen that.
>
> Somebody told me: "Your brother's not to live" so I got up and went, after I seen that. I told my wife to get bannock and I went for the traps and brought back more than 30 pelts and sold them. Then I went to Fort Smith.
>
> In Smith I put the dogs by the window, 'auntie' saw the strange dogs and said "someone's here". My brother _____, his arms and

> feet were swelling up. They had to have a rope hanging from the ceiling so he could pull himself up for a drink of water. He was sick.
>
> Someone was using something against him, the Dogribs were practicing that. There was this Cree guy named Leo, and I went to visit him with the money and the stuff, and one guy I took down with me to translate.
>
> That's when the Cree went into the tent. They had 14 poles in the ground. After they got into the tent, in one minute they brought the Dogrib into the tent. The Dogrib was strong too, he knows, so they rebuilt the tent with 16 poles. They put the Dogrib inside there. The tent was stronger with 16 poles.
>
> Now the Cree says "I'm the boss" and killed the Dogrib in his own town. The Cree took 2 ribbons for dogs and my brother tied them on his arms and legs. My brother was sick just about all winter. In the spring the Cree made him go hunting with me and he got better.
>
> After my brother got better the Cree told him to stay with the Dogribs for one year to see if they would do anything. (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept.1, 1988: 30-32)

This story sums up several themes in the past two chapters. In the story above, we have the characters : the kin in the brothers, and the aunt; the protagonist in the person of Leo the Cree; and the antagonist in the person of the Dogrib. We also have the peculiar form of evidence-giving "I seen that" in two places; once in the explanation of the small canvas lodge, and the second in his explanation of the dream in which he saw someone who told him his brother was ill. The seeking of the intervention of Leo the Cree is where this story fits very nicely in this thesis; for this action represents the dependence of the people of **Deninoo** on the outside world[10]. Without the outside world there is no marriage, and no well-being.

---

[10] I am indebted to Jean Guy Goulet for his comments on this particular story which I have incorporated into my analysis (Goulet 1988, personal communication).

CHAPTER VI: CONSEQUENCES OF KINSHIP AND IMPLICATIONS FOR DENINOO

The kin terminology used by the elders in **Deninoo** has never been a problem in reality. In fact, the kin terminology reflects reality very nicely. However, things have changed. In fact, I would argue that the high degree of variability has been particularly notable over the last 20 to 25 years because of widespread movement of peoples out of areas into towns. However, the principles seem to be well established, so the variability was not "caused" by these movements.

There is a different terminology in use by some of the younger speakers under age 70. The younger speakers have adapted the terminology more closely to English by using a new set of terms for the descending generations (see Terminology Three, Chapter One). Hence, two adjacent generations hold different views of the Chipewyan kin terminologies. The generational conflict is best represented by the counter-accusations mentioned earlier in the last chapter. The elders claim young people do not know **how** they are related to people; they obviously can't because they are not using the kinship language "properly". The younger generation claims the elders do not know **whom** they are related to, and this assertation also has validity. However, the younger generation also asserts that knowing **whom** one is related to is important to avoid "bad" marriages.

In the transition between the generations, a new set of rules for marriage has entered, and a new way of reckoning relationships. Not knowing is not satisfying the middle generation, largely because they do know. They have travelled more and have seen more of their relatives. They also have been given extensive family trees

by the priests. They have also used finding out about being related to their spouses to get out of marriages they did not find desirable.

The problem of the Third Terminology

Despite the adoption of English terminology, and some unintended consequences it has carried with it, the people in Deninoo still uphold an ideology of an exogamous local group. Everyone in Deninoo is still claiming everyone "is related here".

With the use of the Third Terminology, and an emphasis on whom they are related to rather than how, the middle generation has managed to continue realizing the local exogamy to a large degree. This objective has been accomplished through social disapproval of internal marriages, and on the basis of an ideology that "cousin" marriage is bad.

Patterns of marriage such as sibling groups marrying sibling groups continues. Although cousin marriage of any degree is frowned upon, it also continues. Opposite sex-siblings do not settle together within the town after marriage; they are separated by at least a road. Interaction between opposite-sex siblings is rare, and tense when it does occur (Journal, August 12, 1988); but the interaction between same-sex siblings is frequent. The relationship between same-sex affines is also close (Fieldnotes, Vol.I, 1988: 172).

I am not sure an explanation for the change towards English can be provided beyond the fact that this generation is the boarding school generation. I would suggest that the adoption of English terminology is linked to the internal fragmentation of Deninoo. However, I would also suggest that this generation knows

enough about how the elders called their kin, that they could swing away from the use of the English-dominated terminology.

There is concern in **Deninoo** for its restricted population size, and the rapid depopulation presently taking place, as there is great concern about the women marrying out. This situation may also be a reason for the adoption of the English terminology. However, combined with continued social disapproval of local endogamy, the continued use of English or English-dominated terminologies is not likely to do anything but cause confusion.

The third and now the fourth generation do not speak Chipewyan to the degree of either of the elder generations. However, the third generation seems to be less dogmatic than the middle generation. They also seem to have more liberal attitudes towards marriage. They, additionally, favour a return to some traditions. They are trying to gain knowledge about tradition by interviewing the elders, and some would like to see an active Chipewyan program in the schools for their children.

Hence, while the language usage has changed, I do not see any irreversible changes occurring in the practice of marriage. For some reason, this pattern seems relatively stable. I would also like to emphasize that despite the changes in language, residence, and marriage, certain kinds of marriage and residence still continue to be practiced. Local group exogamy continues, bilaterality is maintained, and sibling groups continue to marry sibling groups.

Women marrying out continues to be a problem stated by men in the community. For a woman to remain unmarried in Resolution is a structurally weak

position; to marry within Resolution is to face lifelong criticism for an incorrect marriage. As a woman told me:

> Now it is important to make sure your auntie is your "really" auntie. It is best that I tell my children.who they are related to so they don't go through what I went through [a "bad" marriage]. (Fieldnotes, Vol.I; August 27, p.174).

The only alternative for women is to marry outside and live outside; or return with their husbands. This situation in turn means the men must marry outside, or never marry at all.

The younger generations are caught in the marriage dilemma of a society that is interrelated and categorizing kin on the basis of biology: one either divides it in half and allows marriages to occur between halves; or one develops genealogical amnesia and allows marriages to occur between people who are not related to each other (Murphy, 1972: 177). Both options provide a means to escape from the obvious problems inherent in saying one should not marry biological relatives, when everyone is related[1].

Residence and Violence

There is a connection in Chipewyan belief between living close to any old cemetery, or an existing one, and bad fortune. There were two occasions in which this situation was suggested as a cause of drinking and violence. The low rental housing units have a particularly bad reputation for sites of drinking, and as sites of violence (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept.6, 1988: 81). Additionally, there is also a link

---

[1] While the speakers under 70 are using an English-dominated terminology, it must be remembered that I have not done a complete survey with the monolingual English-speaking generations. Nor did I survey the demography in the community. The problem of women marrying out is a stated and not an empirical one.

between living in a bad place and violence; this was an explanation for some suicides as well (Journal, July 8, 1988).

Kinship and violence

However, I also wonder if the "mixing-up" of people is not also implicated here; for it throws together people who should not be together, providing an additional impetus for violence. From what I saw in Fort Resolution there is no other way to interact with people than through kinship. Throwing people together seems to encourage violence.

It also seems that the most potentially violent relations between males involve people called **Sɛla**, and may be due to the fact that it is a structurally less clear position. A person you call **sonarɛ/sɛtčɛlɛ** is kin, a person you call **sɛtɛ** is a same sex-affine, but the person you call **Sɛla** is a very unclear relationship.

The way you act towards elder and younger brothers(**sonarɛ/sɛtčɛlɛ**) is clear (Smith,1982). How you act towards **sɛla** is not as straightforward. In fact, from the elder's point of view you are not supposed to know the people you call this term. This sets up a situation which is potentially violent.

Structurally weak positions

An unmarried woman is in a socially weak position, and this position can be dangerous[2]. Unmarried women seem to be subject to violence; again drinking is always also a factor in the violence, but the woman does not have to be involved in the drinking. The concept of a weak position was suggested to me as an explanation

---

[2] This comment applies to non-Dene women as well. There have been two cases of violence against single non-Dene women in the recent past. The four violent episodes involving women this summer were all unmarried women.

of repeated violence against certain unmarried women (Journal, Sept.6, 1988).

In the past, orphans were also in structurally weak positions; and were sometimes subjected to beatings (Fieldnotes, Vol I, Aug 26: 171); and sometimes survived in town by stealing, and getting caught and arrested (Fieldnotes, Vol. II, Sept.6, 1988: 62). Despite the indication of maltreatment of adopted children mentioned above, many orphans did not know of their adoption until they were well into adulthood (Fieldnotes, Vol.II, Sept.2, 1988: 32). This situation applies as well to cases of unknown paternity (Journal, Aug. 22, 1988). However, now it is felt that it is important that children know their biological parents (Fieldnotes, Vol.I, August 13, 1988: 142).

Kinship and politics

Just as we can view problems such as violence as linked to kinship and residence, we can look at politics and leadership in the context of kinship. The political ideology of kinship is illustrated in the statements made at the Dene Assembly on the Hay River Reserve. The use of kinship surfaced at the end of the Assembly in the call for unity:

> Although the Métis had a meeting across the river we have the same purpose: to work for a strong, unified voice. The Dene spoke strongly about land claims and spoke in harsh tones at times. But now we look at one another in a good way. ... We are all brothers and we have to be united and have one strong voice. This is the only way we can have what we want. (Fieldnotes, Vol. I, July 7, 1988: 39).

This statement makes political sense, but it also reflects the emphasis of speaking one's mind (even if the words are harsh), and the association of kinship and unity.

The marriage structure indicates that the entire Dene nation is tied into the alliance system, and there seems to be no group beyond which one does not marry.

In addition to the national unity that is claimed through kinship, it is also possible to suggest that kinship relations within **Deninoo** may have implications for the governing of this community. From the elders' point of view, all who live together are brothers and sisters to each other, and hence the unity of the community is ensured. Things are not so clear in modern usage, for people who live together can be a variety of relations. The co-existence of marriageable groups would undermine the unity of the community itself. It should be noted again that there is still an ideology of "everyone here is related", and community internal marriages are still extremely rare[3].

However, the co-existence of four sub-groups sets up a situation in which oppositions can and do develop and alliances between groups are formed. I have no doubt that the oppositions and alliances change over time. Nonetheless, the development of subgroups in the community may cause governmental problems should the population of one group outgrow the others.

Unfortunately, the system of local self-government developed in southern Canada does not account for community subdivision on the basis on kinship. The Canadian system does not accommodate societies which organize on the basis of kinship very well. Evidence for this situation can be most readily seen in southern Canadian Reserves that have changed to an electoral system and ignored their own social structure in the process. Some of these reserves are notorious for nepotism, and dominance of one family in the politics of that reserve. In my opinion this

---

[3] When dealing with rules of residential exogamy it is important to note that these rules are never absolute.

situation is a direct result of ignoring the existing social structure, and may indeed be avoidable in the North.

If we could look at kinship as the political system and ignore the prejudices our system carries with it, perhaps a representative system could be developed to accommodate the social facts involved. If a local government considered representation on the basis of kinship rather than the present individualistic system, the dominance of local government[4] by one family might be avoided.

I am not suggesting that this is presently a problem in **Deninoo**. However, I do believe the potential for such a development does exist. The major challenge in developing a system is allowing the normal process of fission to be represented. It seems to me that in Deninoo groups tended to subdivide over time; eight smaller groups can be seen to be subdivisions[5] of the four larger groups.

These subgroups seem to form on a fairly predictable basis: the opposite-sex sibling pair (Brother and Sister) in the absence of a marriage of a Brother-Sister pair to a Sister-Brother pair. Additionally, this division is marked by an enduring disagreement of some kind.

The point is that council seats could be assigned to family groups rather than through universal election of individual candidates. Council could also allow for growth and sub-divisions of these families. This system could be fairly easily accommodated by allowing people to enroll as members of a particular family

---

[4] Both the elected and administrative arms of government are implicated here.

[5] Smith (1982) notes six major family groups. However, it must be remembered that Smith's fieldwork was done in the late 1960s or twenty years ago.

group, allowing free choice for individuals. Family division could be allowed by petitioning council when a new seat is required because of a family division. In this system the individual is responsible for claiming membership in a family group, and the family group must be in agreement with this claim. The family group is also responsible for choosing its representative, and ensuring that he or she does indeed represent them.

I would leave the position of chief as it is today. From what I could see at the community level, the chief is already chosen on the basis of his ability to conciliate between the various sub-groups in the community. As such the position of chief would fit well into a system of familial representation.

On the basis of my experience in other Native communities, the executive or administrative arm of government could prove to be problematic. The executive arm of government is problematic within all democratic governments. This problem is partially due to an ideology which insists that power should lie in the hands of elected officials; for the administration always has a certain amount of power and privilege and it is not elected.

Other Native communities have handled the problem in a variety of ways. Some have hired outsiders to administrate; and this, in my opinion, is the Native version of an independent public service. Others have not hired outsiders but have had to resort occasionally to hiring outsiders when their adminstration got into deep financial or legal problems. In these cases, outsiders are sent in to find out what the problem is and get rid of it. This latter solution works to keep the community intact despite having to fire members of the community; for, in general, the blame for the

bad feelings is placed on the outsider.

In the case of **Deninoo** and the proposed government structure above, I am not sure these tactics will be necessary or desirable. However, I would suggest a clear and limited set of powers for the executive be considered, and that balanced familial representation be kept in mind in hiring for all executive positions.

I raise these general points only to illustrate that the people of **Deninoo** have choices to make concerning the basic nature of their own system of self-government. In the Southern society, politics is divorced from kinship and religion; and this system works in southern society because most Euro-Canadian people are divorced from kinship and religion as well. However, some societies view this divorce as the divorcing of politics from morality, and some societies do not see this division as valuable. It may not be desirable for **Deninoo** because people living there are related to each other. If the situation on southern reserves is any indication, the switching to a system based on extra-familial representation may well lead to nepotism and the control of the community by one of the larger families.

CHAPTER VII: IMPLICATIONS FOR ANTHROPOLOGY

The "problem" in the kinship terminology in use in Deninoo is not due to its variation in reality. Rather, the problem lies in the way anthropologists deal with kinship terminologies. There are several features implicated here: the definition of kinship, the problem of translation, the problem of order and sequence, and the problem of structural theory and bilateral societies.

The problem of the definition of kinship

The definition of kinship used by most anthropologists, particularly those working in the Subarctic, is problematic. Our own kinship system is heavily biased towards a biological definition of kinship. This bias results in the logical division of kinship and marriage. It has been argued that this distinction does not work in some societies, and kinship should be considered to include affinity (Dumont, 1953).

This problem is complicated by the fact that this is a bilateral society. As Leach (1982) defines bilateral kinship:

> contrasted with unilineal descent. In the absence of any kind of mating between cousins, second cousins, etc. , each individual has two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents...and is related by 'bilateral' kinship to all individuals descended through either male or female links from all such ancestors. 'Kinship', in this comprehensive ramifying sense, has biological significance but is of limited social importance because it fails to segment humanity into distinguishable groups... (Leach, 1982; p.227).

Not only is our view of kinship tainted with a biological bias, but our concept of bilateral kinship has an equivalent bias that bilateral societies are all like our own, and do not segment society into identifiable social groups.

In the first chapter of this thesis I presented four kinship terminologies defined on the basis of Chipewyan kinship terms and genealogical positions. I did

this for two reasons: first, to illustrate that the kinship terminologies co-exist in one community; second, to illustrate that the differing views presented by the authors in Chapter Two are not fabrications but the logical consequence of dealing with kinship terminologies from a genealogical viewpoint.

A problem related to the definition of kinship is the problem of kin term typologies. These typologies are based on a genealogical definition, and the additional presumption of extension causes a great many problems when facing a kinship system like the one used by the elders in **Deninoo**. By using the typologies presented in Chapter Two we are assuming a particular definition of kinship, and this assumption causes problems in the analysis of kinship. We basically have two choices. We can accept the typologies, and the logic inherent in the typologies; or we can reject the typologies. In accepting the typologies we must assume the Dene are using different kin typologies; but this view raises serious questions about confusion and how people communicate. Or we can reject typologies, and at that point, recognize that the elders in this community classify kin in a distinctly different way than anthropologists do.

Problems of Method

The redefinition of kinship to a social basis causes a number of methodological problems, for it implies that genealogies must be abandoned (Hocart, 1971). I, however, see the method as useful for several reasons. First, it allows us to collect information in a standardized manner. Second, regardless of the nature of the system under investigation we must explain it in terms of our own system of kin classification. Quite simply we are limited by the language we are forced to use.

By language I mean both English (French, German, etc.) and the language of anthropology. Our starting point must always be somewhat genealogical, for that is the system in which we function. However, we must recognize that our definitions may not be natural to the system under investigation, and we must collect enough information on context to ensure the system is dealt with accurately. Third, those authors who have abandoned the use of the genealogical method end up translating kin types into Chipewyan (Helm, 1988), an approach which does nothing to solve the problem in the method. I argue that the problem is not so much one of method, but confusing an interview schedule with analysis[1].

The genealogical method continues to be useful to provide some logic and reason to the collection of kinship data. When kinship terms are isolated from actual people, actual places, and the rules of marriage, then a problem is created. In my view, the genealogical method continues to be a useful tool to collect data on language and multiplicity. However, it answers little in terms of analysis.

Analytical problems

I argue that the terminology used by the elders of Deninoo is a two-line terminology; and this system conceptually divides the world into two. The divisions in the terminologies are on the basis of kin or allies, consanguines or affines, same side or other side, and know or don't know. In Chapter Four I presented a reanalysis of the data collected in the past, and concluded that all the terminologies collected among the Chipewyan are two-line terminologies.

This reanalysis illustrates an attempt to transcend kin types. It is here that we

---

[1] A mistake I made myself in an earlier draft of this thesis.

find out why it was so easy to subtract from certain paradigms and not from others: the collateral dimension is redundant. We do not need it to define this terminology. The reanalysis illustrates that dimensions can be unconsciously or consciously applied by analysts, in situations where they are not necessary to produce a logical kinship paradigm.

The Problem of Order and Sequence

Another problem raised in the reanalysis is the practice of treating kinship language as if it has no order or sequence, and again this approach relates back to typologies. Kroeber (1971) developed the dimensions used in kinship language to distinguish types of kin, and Murdock and Lowie developed typologies on the basis of these dimensions. However, Kroeber neglected to specify the order in which these dimensions should be applied. In my linguistic analysis I suggest that the collateral dimension should only be used as a dimension of last resort because it is a very complicated dimension, which can skew the data if questionably applied.

In my reanalysis of the paradigms I also illustrate what happens if you apply the collateral dimension to everything: it has the effect of scattering the data. In other words, you can interfere with the natural order and sequence of language by misapplying this particular dimension. Order and sequence in kinship language has not been adequately dealt with, and we continue to concentrate on variability in reality that may explain the variability in language.

There is a better explanation, and that is the Chipewyan terminology is not varying in reality; people are using the same term for different people because the term is defined in a different manner than anthropologists are accustomed to. In the

past this problem has been particularly notable in the analysis of the term **Sɛla**.

In the system of kin categorization under review, when we think in terms of descent (the **who** rather than the **how**) we are again looking for our familiar concepts of consanguinity. When, in this system, a cousin is called **sonarɛ/ setčɛlɛ**, it is not the fact that they are "cousins" which is primary. It is the relationship of co-resident kinship, or **how** people are related which is primary. Similarly when a person is called **Sɛla** it is again not the fact that he or she is a "cousin" that is primary: it is the relationship of opposition, the relationship of non-residence which is primary.

Thus, in the case of the elderly Chipewyan speakers of **Deninoo** the order and value that they use indicates an unequal value being placed on the affinal side. This system produces a terminology which can not be explained within an extensionist view. The value for affinity is so heavily placed on the affinal side that studies using the extensionist view had to note the exceptions to the paradigm produced through a variety of methods. In this terminology, the alliance viewpoint is definitely a preferable and less contradictory frame of reference.

Structural theory and Bilateral Societies

The biological or descent emphasis in kinship studies has produced a problem in the analysis of bilateral systems particularly. In accepting a biological analogy we are also accepting individualism, and the notion that there is no structure beyond the individual. We need not assume that because a kinship system is bilateral, it has no structure beyond the individual. Nor do we have to assume that because structuralist theory has not adequately dealt with bilateral societies,

such societies automatically do not fit within structuralist theory.

In the case of Deninoo I have used Levi-Strauss (1969), and his criteria and examples to explain certain marriage practices and marriage rules. Levi-Strauss states:

> Neither prescription nor preference is a test of an elementary structure. Its one and only criterion rests in the fact that, preferred or prescribed, the spouse is the spouse solely because she belongs to an alliance category or stands in a certain kinship relationship to Ego. In other words, the imperative or desirable relationship is a function of the social structure. We enter the realm of complex structures when the reason for the preference or prescription hinges on other considerations, eg. the fact that the desired wife is blond, or slim, or intelligent, or belongs to a rich or powerful family. The latter certainly involves a social criterion, but its valuation remains relative, and the system does not define it structurally (Levi-Strauss, 1969: xxxiv).

The author is basically stating the one criterion for an Elementary Structure is that it has an alliance category.

I have argued the whole point of Chipewyan terminology as it is used is to define structurally who is and who is not marriageable in terms of kin. Additionally, I have noted that the sister-exchange rule is a prototypical example of direct exchange between two groups. These are the criteria and examples used by Levi-Strauss (1969) for Elementary Structures. They exist within a bilateral society. Therefore, bilateral societies can be divided into both Elementary and Complex structures just like unilineal ones[2].

---

[2] For a different analysis of Elementary Structures among the Slavey see Asch, 1988: 105-106.

Dumont (1983) argues that in the past (positive) marriage rules have been seen as a rule for deriving a marriage prescription from a relationship of consanguinity. However, he suggests this view is an error. A positive marriage rule simply allows a repetition of past marriages, and hence the purpose of the positive marriage rule is diachronic: it allows marriages to be repeated generation after generation (Dumont, 1983: 71-72).

Dumont proposes:

> Where there are positive marriage rules: 1) marriage should be considered as a part of a marriage alliance institution running through the generations; 2) concepts of affinity should be extend so as to include... the people who inherit such a relationship; 3) there is likely an affinal content in terms which are considered to connote consanguinity.... (Dumont, 1983: 73).

I would also suggest that when we find affinal content in terms we consider to be consanguines, we should look for marriage rules.

The statement made by the people of Deninoo that "you should marry someone you do not know" does not tell one very much until one starts realizing whom one knows is clearly defined. Add to this definition that you use **Sɛla** for those kin you do not know, and elders in this study do not know kin who live outside the local group. Thus in the case of the elder Chipewyan speakers in **Deninoo** there is an alliance category, and a positive marriage rule; both of these involve the term **Sɛla**. Regardless of what we name this terminology it is an Elementary Structure; it is exogamous to locality, and it has a positive marriage rule.

Similarities and Differences

In this thesis I have used past work in the Subarctic to illustrate and explain some of the features I found in **Deninoo**. While the divergence between groups of Dene peoples is not as wide as previously thought, this is no reason to take the extreme position of saying the Dene are identical. There is enough evidence to indicate that there are differences; and that these differences, particularly in language, are significant. The evidence of Asch (1988) and Rushforth (1984) indicates that the way the Slavey and Bear Lake people use their kinship terminology is significantly different than the terminology found among the Chipewyan speakers of **Deninoo**.

However, it should be noted here that despite the great amount of data on Chipewyan kinship terminology, it has always been viewed as contradictory evidence. Continued studies on kinship terminology usage, marriage, and residence in other Dene groups is required before any conclusion can be made on the similarities and differences between the Dene groups and languages.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the problem in Dene kinship is that it is a bilateral exogamous society which defines its groups on a predominantly social basis. This social basis is residence. The world is thereby divided into two groups: relatives whom I live with and relatives whom I do not live with. Marriage exchange is practiced between these two groups, and it is symmetrical. This type of marriage is marked by a positive marriage rule that one should marry relatives one does not live with, and one does not know.

In this thesis I have approached the issues of kinship variability from a number of directions. The reanalysis in Chapter Three raises the question of line; and this was an essential question to raise within this language, for the difference of line is basically where the problem lies in this terminology. The different terminologies collected by Subarctic anthropologists in the past varied on this issue. The difference in line essentially involved the collateral dimension, and it is very easy for us as English-speakers to see this dimension whenever there is an inexplicable distinction occurring in a kinship paradigm. We are preprogrammed to see it, and we tend to see any distinction of "real" versus any other category as a collateral dimension.

In the terminologies collected among the Dene, however, this distinction was very strange; for it contains affines as well as consanguines. This fact raised the question: is the collateral dimension necessary to define this kinship terminology? The answer is obviously not.

The problem of variability in kinship terminology is additionally complicated by the social fact that the Dene in general, and the Chipewyan in particular, have been in contact with English and French for a substantial period of time. Thus we could propose culture change as responsible. This explanation, however, does not adequately deal with the facts, for even Morgan's (1966 [1871]) data has the same troubling features. The most troubling feature is that when this apparent collateral distinction is present it occurs without a consistent affinal distinction.

Thus the questions for fieldwork were established: how are people classifying their kin and on what basis? In my fieldwork I talked to approximately 26 individuals over sixty years of age and many younger people; and found that within the group of elders individuals vary so widely between each other that it is almost impossible to construct the regular kin term definitions that produce Hawaiian, Dravidian-Iroquoian, and Lineal typologies.

Thus description can not directly answer this question as long as the language is directly connected to kin type (eg. MB, FB). Additionally, the question of how people describe or classify their kin can not be explained as long as we consider it to be a problem in reality, for I could see no problem in reality that would be reflected in the kin terms. Everyone agrees that what people call their relatives varies.

Therefore I began looking at some outstanding problems in my understanding of the interviews. These were: what is the relation between the marriage rule and the gaps in the genealogies? What was the relationship between **Sɛla** and the affinal terms? Why in the world would there be only two male terms in the first ascending

generation? What place does the marriage of sibling groups have in all of this? Why would the most elderly person I interviewed state that the difference between the way he classified kin and the younger speakers was because he was talking about HOW people are related and the "young" people are talking about WHO they are related to?

The answers are that the marriage rule is imbedded in **Sɛla**, and some people do not use this term since they do not talk about people they do not know. The marriage of men to each other's sister is important because it is an ideal form of marriage in which direct exchange takes place between two groups. The marriage of a group of brothers to a group of sisters is a different form of marriage in which the exchange is completed but is delayed a generation. Both of these types of marriage exchange are symmetrical as they are both based on the exchange between two groups. The two groups are defined on residence and that is HOW people are related. The relation of **Sɛla** to sɛtɛ and the other affinal terms is key because this is how one changes the outside, potential affinal group into actual affines.

Now a new terminology has entered the community, and it does have some consequences for the community. However, I would again emphasize that in **Deninoo** speakers seem to be retaining both bilaterality and exogamy. I do think that the new terminology does have consequences in behaviour, both in interpersonal relations and government. Hence I address these issues in a short chapter.

To conclude, the definition of kin as practiced in **Deninoo** is a central problem in understanding the Chipewyan kinship system as a whole. The great variability between people and how they classify their kin has never been a problem

in reality. In reality, these terms reflect whether kin are co-resident or not, and whether they are marriageable or not. All the divergent terminologies recorded over the years have never existed; they are a misunderstanding of the workings of a bilateral exogamous society. The essential feature of this terminology is that one needs no rules of residence and only minimal rules of marriage to make it work. People can and do live where they like, and their choices are clearly accommodated in their use of kinship language. This system keeps bilaterality uncomplicated and exogamy valuable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asch, Michael I.

1980 Steps toward the analysis of Aboriginal Athapaskan social organization. Arctic Anthropology 17(2): 46-51.

1981 Slavey. In Handbook of North American Indians: Subarctic. Vol.6. June Helm (ed). pp.338-349. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

1988 Kinship and the Drum Dance in a Northern Dene Community. Edmonton: Boreal Institute of Northern Studies.

Ardener, Edwin (ed.)

1971 Social Anthropology and Language. London: Tavistock Publications.

Barnard, Alan and Anthony Good

1984 Research Practices in the Study of Kinship. Toronto: Academic Press.

Barnes, J.A.

1980 Current state of play. Man 15: 293-303.

Barnes, R.H.

1984 Two Crows Denies It: A History of Controversy in Omaha Society. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Basso, Ellen

1970 Xingu Carib kinship terminology and marriage: another view. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 26: 402-416.

Basso, Keith

1972 Ice Travel among the Fort Norman Slave: folk taxonomies and cultural rules. Language in Society 1:31-49.

Beaulieu, Gail (ed.)

1988 That's the way we Lived. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories: Culture and Communications.

Berreman, Gerald D.

1966 Anemic and emetic analysis in social anthropology. American Anthropologist 8 (2): 346-354.

Bloch, Maurice

1973 The long term and the short term: the economic and political significance of the morality of kinship. In Character of Kinship. J. Goody (ed). pp. 75-87. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Bodden, Kenneth R.

1981 Native Economics of the Slave River Delta. MA Thesis: University of Alberta.

Bohannon, Paul and John Middleton (eds)

1968 Kinship and Social Organization. New York: The Natural History Press.

Boon, James A. and David Schneider

1974 Kinship visa-vis myth: contrasts in Levi-Strauss' approach to cross-cultural comparison. American Anthropologist 76 (4): 794-817.

Borland, C.H.

1979 Kinship term grammar: a review. Anthropos 74: 326-352.

Burling, Robbin

1971 Cognition and componential analysis: God's truth or hocus-pocus? In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.279-285. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Chafe, Wallace L.

1965 Meaning in language. In Formal Semantic Analysis. E.A.

Hammel (ed). American Anthropologist Special Publication 67(5) Part 2: 23-36.

Cohen, David (ed)

1974 Explaining Linguistic Phenomena. Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Darnell, Regna

1986 A linguistic classification of Canadian Native Peoples: issues, problems, and theoretical implications. In Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (eds.). pp.22-45. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Davenport, William

1971 Nonlinear descent and descent groups. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.200-211. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

De Josselin DeJong, P.E.

1977 [1952] Levi-Strauss' theory on kinship and marriage. In Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands: A Reader. P.E. De Josselin DeJong (ed.). pp.253-320. The Hague: Martinus Nighoff.

Deprez, P. and A.B. Bisson

1975 Demographic Differences Between Indian and Métis in Fort Resolution. Winnipeg: Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba.

Dole, Gertrude E.

1972 Developmental sequences of kinship patterns. In Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year. Priscilla Reining (ed.). pp.134-166. Washington, D.C.: the Anthropological Society of Washington.

Dumont, Louis

1953 The Dravidian kinship terminology as an expression of marriage. Man 53 (54): 34-39.

1971a The marriage alliance. In Kinship. J. Goody (ed). pp.183-198. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Dumont, Louis

1971b Marriage Alliance. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.232-237. New York : Harper and Row.

1983 Affinity as a Value: Marriage in South India, with Comparative Essays on Australia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1986 The anthropological community and ideology. In Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective. Louis Dumont (ed). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp.202-233.

Dyen, Isidore and David F. Aberle

1974 Lexical Reconstruction: The Case of the Proto-Athapaskan Kinship System. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Elford, Marjorie and Leon W. Elford

1981 Chipewyan Dictionary. Northern Prince Albert Saskatchewan: Canadian Evangelical Mission.

Ellen, R.F.(editor)

1984 Ethnographic Research: a Guide to General Practice. London U.K.: Academic Press.

Firth, Raymond

1971 [1951] Social structure and social organization. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.159-163. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Fortes, Meyer

1963 Kinship and the Social Order: the Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Gies, Francis and Joseph Gies

1987 Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Gidden, Anthony

1977 Central Problem in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis. London: MacMillan Press Ltd..

Goffman, Erving

1964 The neglected situation. In The Ethnography of Communication. Dell Hymes (ed). American Anthropologist Special Publication 66 (6) Part 2. pp.133-137.

Goodenough, Ward

1956 Residence rules. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 12: 22-37.

1964a Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics. In Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology. Dell Hymes (ed). pp.36-39. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

1964b Property and language on Truk: some methodological considerations. In Language in Culture and Society. Dell Hymes (ed). pp.185-189. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

1966 Property, Kin, and Community on Truk. 2nd edition. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books.

1971a A new method of analyzing kinship systems. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.251-257. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

1971b Rethinking 'status' and 'role': toward a general model of the cultural organization of social relationships. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.309-321. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Goody, Jack

1969 Comparative Studies in Kinship. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Goody, Jack (ed.)

1971 Kinship. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd..

Graburn, Nelson

1971 The meaning of kin terms: formal and componential analysis. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.239-240. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Goulet, Jean Guy

1987 Ways of knowing with the mind: an ethnography of aboriginal beliefs. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Ethnological Society/ Societie Canadienne d'Ethnologie Quebec, May 14-17, 1987. Permission received from author to cite this article.

1988 Personal communication.

Hammel, E.A.

1965 A transformational analysis of Comanche kinship terminology. In Formal Semantic Analysis. E.A. Hammel (ed). American Anthropologist Special Publication 67 (5) Part 2: pp. 65-105.

1971 Further comments on componential analysis. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.285-288. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Helm, June

1965 Bilaterality in the socio-territorial organization of the Arctic Drainage Dene. **Ethnology** 4 (4): 361-385.

1968 The nature of Dogrib socio-territorial groups. In Man the Hunter. R.B. Lee and Irven Devore (eds). pp.118-125. Chicago: Aldine.

1988 Personal Communication.

Helm, June (ed.)

1981 Handbook of North American Indians: Subarctic. Volume 6.

Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Hocart, A.M.

1968 [1937] Kinship Systems. In Kinship and Social Organization. Paul Bohannon and John Middleton (eds). pp.345-371. New York: Natural History Press.

Ives, Jack W.

1985 Northern Athapaskan Socioeconomic Variability. PhD. Thesis: University of Michigan.

Keen, Ian

1985 Definitions of kin. Journal of Anthropological Research 41: 62-90.

Keesing, Roger M.

1971 Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

1972 Paradigms lost: the New Ethnography and the New Linguistics. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 28 (4): 299-333.

1975 Kin Groups and Social Structure. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.

Korn, Francis

1973 Elementary Structures Reconsidered: Levi-Strauss on Kinship. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Krauss, Michael E. and Victor K. Golla

1981 Northern Athapaskan languages. In Handbook of North American Indians. Vol.6: Subarctic. June Helm (ed.). pp.67-85. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Kroeber, A.L.

1971 [1909] Classificatory systems of relationship. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.59-64. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Lamb, Sidney M.

1965 Kinship terminology and linguistic structure. In Formal Semantic Analysis. E.A. Hammel (ed). American Anthropologist Special Publication 67 (5) Part 2: pp. 37-64.

Leach, Edmund R.

1971 An alternate theory. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.223-231. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

1974 Claude Levi-Strauss. New York: The Viking Press.

1976 Culture and communication: the logic by which symbols are connected. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1982 Social Anthropology. New York: Oxford University Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude

1966 The future of kinship studies. Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute. 1965: 13-22.

1969 The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Boston: Beacon Press.

1971 Social structure. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.216-223. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Lounsbury, Floyd G.

1969 The structural analysis of kinship semantics. In Cognitive Anthropology. Stephen A. Tyler (ed). pp.193-212. New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston.

1971a The nature of formal analysis. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.257-258. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

1971b The structural analysis of kinship semantics. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.258-271. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Lowie, Robert

1968 Relationship terms. In Kinship and Social Organization. Paul Bohannon and John Middleton (eds). pp.39-59. New York: Natural History Press.

Lyons, John

1981 Language, Meaning and Context. Great Britain: Fontana Books.

MacNeish, June Helm

1960 Kin terms of the Arctic Drainage Dene: Hare, Slavey, Chipewyan American Anthropologist 62 (2): 279-295.

Maybury Lewis, David

1971 Prescriptive marriage systems. In Kinship. Jack Goody (ed). pp.199-224. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Morgan, L.H.

1966 [1871] Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity in the Human Family. Oosterhout, N.B.: Anthropological Publications.

Murphy, Robert J.

1972 The Dialectics of Social Life. Great Britain: George Allen and Unwin Ltd..

Needham, Rodney

1971 Introduction. In Rethinking Kinship and Marriage. Rodney Needham (ed). pp.xiii-cix. New York: Tavistock Publications.

1980 Diversity, structure, and aspect in Mangarai social classification. In Man, Meaning, and History: Essays in Honour of H.G.Schulte Nordholt. R. Schefold, J.W. Schoorl and J. Tennekes (eds). pp.53-81. The Hague: Martinus Nijhushoff.

Noricks, Jay Smith

1987 Testing for cognitive validity: componential analysis and the question of extensions. American Anthropologist 89 (4):424-438.

Pasternak, Burton

1976 Introduction to Kinship and Social Organization. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc..

Pehrson, Robert N.

1971 Bilateral kin groupings as a structural type: a preliminary statement. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.192-195. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.

1952 [1935] Patrilineal and matrilineal succession. In Structure and Function in Primitive Society. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (ed). pp.32-48. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Ridington, Robin

1969 Kin categories versus kin groups: a two-section system without sections. Ethnology 8 (4): 460-467.

Rivers, W.H.R.

1971 The genealogical method. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.52-59. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Riviere, P.G.

1971 Marriage: a reassessment. In Rethinking Kinship and Marriage. Rodney Needham (ed). pp.57-74. New York: Tavistock Publications.

Romney, A. Kimball and Roy Godwin D'Andrade

1971 Cognitive aspects of English kin terms. In Readings in Kinship and Social Structure. Nelson Graburn (ed). pp.272-278. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Rushforth, E. Scott

1982 A structural semantic analysis of Bear Lake Athapaskan kinship classification. American Ethnologist 9 (3): 559-577.

Rushforth, E. Scott

1984 Bear Lake Athapaskan Kinship and Task Group Formation. Ottawa: National Museums of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper No. 96.

1986 The Bear Lake Indians. In Native Peoples: the Canadian Experience. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (eds). pp.243-271. Toronto: McClelland and Steward.

1988 Personal communication.

Scheffler, Harold

1972a Kinship semantics. Annual Review of Anthropology. 1: 309-328.

1972b Systems of kin classification: a structural typology. In Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year. Priscilla Reining (ed). pp.113-133. Washington D.C.: The Anthropological Society of Washington.

Sharp, Henry S.

1977 The Chipewyan hunting unit. American Ethnologist. 4 (2): 377-393.

1979 Chipewyan Marriage. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 58. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Service, Elman R.

1971 Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective, 2nd edition. Toronto: Random House, Inc..

Slobodin, Richard

1981 Subarctic Métis. In Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 6, Subarctic. June Helm (ed). pp.361-372. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Smith, David M.

1969 Interview schedule carried out on Aug.2, 1969 in Fort Resolution, N.W.T.. Permission to cite received from author.

1981 Fort Resolution, N.W.T.. In Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 6, Subarctic. June Helm (ed). pp.683-693.

Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Smith, David M.

1982 Moose Deer Island House People: A History of the Native People of Fort Resolution. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 81. Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series.

1988 Personal communication.

Smith, J.G.E.

1981 Chipewyan. In Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 6, Subarctic. June Helm (ed). pp.271-284. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Tyler, Stephen A.

1969 Context and variation in Koya kinship terminology. In Cognitive Anthropology. Stephen A Tyler (ed). pp.488-501. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.

Wallace, Anthony F.C. and John Aitkens

1969 The meaning of kinship terms. In Cognitive Anthropology. Stephen A. Tylor (ed). pp.345-368. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Werner, Oswald and Mark Schoepfle

1987 Systematic Fieldwork: Ethnographic Analysis and Data Management. Vol.2. Newbury Park, U.S.A.: Sage Publications.

APPENDIX

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page Numbers	Table Number	Title
128-130	Table I	Chipewyan Kin Terminology in the literature
131-139	Table II	Chipewyan Kin Terms:Componential Analysis
140-141	Table III	Kin Term Paradigms by Author
142	Table IV	Components by Author
143-146	Table V	Rushforth's Data: Componential Analysis

TABLE I

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMINOLOGY IN THE LITERATURE

Kin Type	Smith (1982)	Sharp (1977)	MacNeish (1960)
Generation: + 2			
PF	sɛci		sɛci
PM	sɛcuɛ		sɛcuɛ
Generation: +1			
F	sɛta	sɛta	sɛta
FB,MZH	sɛ?ɛ	sɛ?a	sɛta zɛ
FZ,MBW	sąk?iɛ	secu	sɛcu
FBW	sąk?iɛ	sɛcu	
MZ	sąk?iɛ	sɛcu	sąk?iɛ
M	ɛnɛ	ɛna	ɛnɛ
MB	sɛ?ɛ	sɛ?a	sɛ?ɛ
EF	sɛ?ɛ	sɛ?a	sɛ?ɛ
EM	sɛcu	sɛcu	sɛcu
step F	sɛθsɛnɛ, sɛ?ɛ		sɛta zɛ
step M	sɛθsɛnɛ,sąk?iɛ		ɛnazɛ
Generation: 0			
H	sɛdɛnɛ	sɛsak^{w}i	sɛdɛnɛ
W	sɛcąɛ	sɛnɛk^{w}i	sɛcąk^{w}i
eB,eMZS	sonatɛ	sunara	sonatɛ
eFBS	sonatɛ		sɛ?a
eFZS	sonatɛ		fs:sɛcaɛ
eMBS	sonatɛ		fs:sɛcaɛ

TABLE I

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMINOLOGY IN THE LITERATURE

Kin Type	Smith (1982)	Sharp (1977)	MacNeish (1960)
Generation: 0			
yB	**setčɛlɛ**	**sɛčɛla**	**sɛčɛlɛ**
yFZS, yMZS			yMZSfs: **sɛčɛlɛ**
yFBS, yMBS			
eZD	**sarɛ**	**sari**	**sarɛ**
eFBD			
eFZD, eMBD			**sɛcɥazɛ**
yZ,yMZD yFBD yMBD	**sɛdɛzɛ**	**sɛdɛzɛ**(yZ)	**sɛdɛzɛ**
FZS,MBS	ms:	**sɛla**	
	fs:		**sɛčaɛ**
FZD,MBD	ms:		**sɛcɥazɛ**
FZD	fs:		**sɛtɛ**
BW,BWZ	ms: **sɛco**	**sɛcu**	**sɛcɥ**
	fs: **sɛtɛ**	**sɛri**	**sɛtɛ**
BWB	ms: **sɛtɛ**		
	fs: **sɛčai**		
WZ	ms: **seco**	**sɛcu**	**sɛcɥ**
HZ	fs: **sɛtɛ**	**sɛri**	**sɛtɛ**
ZH,ZHB	ms: **sɛtɛ**	**sɛri**	**sɛtɛ**
	fs: **sɛčai**	**setci**	**sɛčaɛ**
WZH	ms. **sɛtɛ**		
HZH	fs. **sɛčai**		
WB	ms:	**sɛri**	**sɛtɛ**
HB	fs:	**sɛri**	**sɛčaɛ**
Sweet-heart	ms. **sɛčuazɛ**		**sɛčɥaze**
	fs. **sɛčazɛ**		**sɛčɛazɛ**

TABLE I

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMINOLOGY IN THE LITERATURE

Kin Type	Smith (1982)	Sharp (1977)	MacNeish (1960)
SWF,DHF	ms:	sɛri	sɛtɛ
	fs:	sɛtči	
SWM,DHM	ms:	sɛcu	sɛtɛ
	fs:	sɛri	
girl-friend	fs:	sɛla	sɛla
cousin		sɛla	
sibling friend		sɛnaɛ	
	Generation -1		
S	sɛ'azɛ	sɛ'azɛ	si'ɛzɛ
ZS	sazɛ	sazɛ	ms. sazɛ
D	sekazɛ, sɛlinazɛ	sɛlɛa	sɛlin
BD		sazɛ	ms. sɛlin
	fs. sarazɛ	sazɛ	fs. sarazɛ
BS	sazɛ	sazɛ	si'ɛzɛ
ZD	sarazɛ	sazɛ	ms. sazɛ
			fs. sɛlin
SW	sarazɛ		ms. sazɛ
			fs.sečaɛ, sarazɛ
DH	sazɛ	ms. sazɛ	ms. sazɛ
		fs. sunas	fs. sɛčaɛ
	Generation: -2		
CC	sethuazɛ		ms.sɛtthu
CS	sonaɪazɛ	fs.sunas (DS)	fs. sonɪazɛ
CD	sarazɛ		fs. sarazɛ

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SMITH'S TERMS	RANGE	STATEMENT
Second Ascending Generation		
sɛci	a+f+m a+m+m	male second ascending generation from ego
secɥɛ	a+m+f a+f+f	female second ascending generation from ego
First Ascending Generation		
sɛta	a+m	male lineal, first ascending generation from ego
ɛna	a+f	female lineal, first ascending generation from ego
sɛ?ɛ	a+m0m a+f0f=m a+f0m a=b+m a+f=m	male colineal/ affinal first ascending generation from ego
sɑ̨k?iɛ	a+m0f a+f0m=f a+m0m=f a+f0f	female colineal/ affinal first ascending generation from ego
sɛcu	a+m=f	female affinal first ascending generation from ego
Ego's Generation		
sɛdɛnɛ	f=m	husband
sɛcanɛ	m=f	wife

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SMITH'S TERMS		RANGE	STATEMENT
Ego's Generation			
sonaτɛ	e	a0m	elder male
	e	a+f0f-m	ablineal + colineal
	e	a+m0m-m	ego's generation
	e	a+m0f-m	
	e	a+f0m-m	
setčelɛ y	y	a0m	younger male
	y	a+m0f-m	ablineal/ colineal
	y	a+m0m-m	ego's generation
	y	a+f0m-m	
	y	a+f0m-m	
	y	a+m0m-m	
sarɛ	e	a0f	elder female
	e	a+f0f-f	ablineal + colineal
	e	a+m0f-f	ego's generation
	e	a+f0m-f	
sɛdɛzɛ	y	a0f	younger female
	y	a+f0f-f	ablineal + colineal
	y	a+m0m-f	ego's generation
	y	a+f0m-f	
sɛcu		m0m=f m0m=f0f m=f0f	relative sex of speaker to alter (male to female), affine, ego's generation
sɛτɛ		f0m=f f0m=f0f m0m=f0m m0f=m m0f=m0m m=f0f=m	relative sex of speaker to alter (same sex), affine, ego's generation

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SMITH'S TERMS	RANGE	STATEMENT
Ego's Generation		
sɛčaɛ	f0m=f0m f0f=m f0f=m0m f=m0f=m	relative sex of speaker to alter (female to male),affine, ego's generation
Descending Generations		
si'azɛ	a-m	male lineal, first descending generation from ego
sazɛ	a0f-m a0m-m a-f=m	male colineal/ affinal first descending generation from ego
sɛkazɛ sɛlinazɛ	a-f	female lineal, first descending generation from ego
sarazɛ	f0m-f a0f-f a-m=f a-a-f	female colineal/affinal descending generations from ego
sɛθuaze	a-a-a	child second descending generation from ego
sonaɬazɛ	a-a-m	male second descending generation from ego

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SHARP'S TERMS		RANGE	STATEMENT
First Ascending Generation			
sɛta		a+m	male lineal first ascending generation from ego
ɛna		a+f	female lineal first ascending generation from ego
sɛʔa		a+m0m a+m0f=m a+f0m a+f=m	male colineal/affinal first ascending generation from ego.
secu		a+f0f a+f0m=f a+m0m=f a+m0f a+m=f	female colineal/ affinal first ascending generation from ego
Ego's Generation			
sɛsank˜i		f=m	husband
sɛnɛk˜i		m=f	wife
sunnara	e	a0m	elder male colineal ego's generation
sɛčɛlɛ	y	a0m	younger male colineal ego's generation
sari	e	a0f	elder female colineal ego's generation
sɛdɛzɛ	y	a0f	younger female colineal ego's generation

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SHARP'S TERMS	RANGE	STATEMENT
Ego's Generation		
sɛnaɛ	a0m a0f	colineals ego's generation
sɛla	a+a0m-m a+a0m-f a+a0f-m a+a0f-f	ablineals ego's generation
sɛcu	m0m=f m0m=f0f m=f0f m-m=f+f m-f=m+f	relative sex of speaker to alter (male to female),affines, ego's generation.
sɛri	f0m=f f=m0f m0f=m m0f=m0m m=f0m f=m0m=f f0f=m0f f-m=f+f f-f=m+f m-m=f+m m-f=m+m	relative sex of speaker to alter (same sex), affines, ego's generation.
sɛtči	f0f=m f-m=f+m f-f=m+m	relative sex of speaker to alter (female to male), affines, ego's generation

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SHARP'S TERMS	RANGE	STATEMENT
Descending Generations		
seyazɛ	a-m	male lineal first descending generation from ego
sunas	a0f-m a-f-m f-f=m a0f-m-m a0f-f-m a0m-m-m a0m-f-m f=m0m-m-m f=m0m-f-m f=m0f-m-m m=f0m-m-m m=f0f-m-m m=f0f-f-m	male colineal/affinal descending generations from ego
sɛlɛa	a-f	female lineal first descending generation from ego
sarazɛ	a0f-f	female colineal first descending generation from ego
sazɛ	m-f=m a0m-m a0m-f a0f-m a0f-f a0f-f f=m0m-m f=m0f-f f=m0f-m f=m0f-f	colineal/ affinal first descending generation from ego

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

SHARP'S TERMS	RANGE	STATEMENT
Descending Generations		
sazɛ	m=f0f-m m=f0f-m m=f0f-m m=f0m-m m=f0m-f	colineal/affinal first descending generation from ego
sɛciɛ	a+a+m	male second ascending generation from ego
sɛcuɛ	a+a+f	female second ascending generation from ego
MACNEISH'S TERMS	**RANGE**	**STATEMENT**
First Ascending Generation		
sɛta sɛta zɛ[1]	a+m a+f0f=m a+m0m a+f=m	male first ascending generation from ego
sɛcɥ	a+m0f a+f0m=f f=m+f	female first ascending generation from ego, intervening cross sex link
sąk?iɛ	a+f0f	female first ascending generation, intervening same sex link

[1]-aze as Helm notes is a dimunitive, and hence it is noted but not separated from its stem term.

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

MACNEISH'S TERMS		RANGE	STATEMENT
<u>First Ascending Generation</u>			
ɛnɛ		a+f	female first ascending
ɛnazɛ		a+m=f	generation from ego
sɛ'ɛ		a+f0m	male first ascending
		f=m+m	generation from ego, intervening cross sex link
<u>Ego's Generation</u>			
sɛdɛnɛ		f=m	husband
sɛcak^{w}i		m=f	wife
sonatɛ	e	a+m0f-m	elder male ego's
	e	a+f0f-m	generation
sɛčaɛ		f+m0f-m	relative sex of speaker
		f+f0m-m	to alter (female to
		f0f=m	female),
ego's intervening			f0f=m0m generation,
		f=m0m	cross sex link
sɛčɛlɛ	y	a0m	younger male ego's
	y	a+f0f-m	generation
sarɛ	e	a0f	elder female ego's
	e	a+m0m-f	generation
sɛcɥazɛ	e	a+f0m-f	elder female ego's
	e	a+mof-f	generation, intervening cross sex link
sɛtɛ		f=m0f-f	relative sex of speaker
		f0m=f	to alter (same sex)
		f0m=f0f	ego's generation,
		f=m0f	intervening cross sex
		m0f=m	link
		m=f0m	

TABLE II

CHIPEWYAN KIN TERMS: COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

MACNEISH'S TERMS	RANGE	STATEMENT
Ego's Generation		
sɛ̨tɛ	m-m=f+m m-f=m+m	
Descending Generations		
si'azɛ	a-m	male first descending generation from ego
sazɛ	m0f-m m0f-f m-m=f m-f=m	relative sex of speaker (same) first descending generation from ego, cross sex link
sɛlienɛ	a-f m0m-f f0f-f	female first descending generation from ego,
Descending Generations		
sarazɛ	f0m-f f-f-f f-m=f	relative sex of speaker to alter (same) descending generations from ego
sɛčaɛ	f-m=f f-f=m	sex of speaker (female) first descending generation from ego
sɛθuazɛ	m-a-a	sex of speaker (male) second descending generation from ego
sonatazɛ	f-a-m	relative sex of speaker to alter (female to male) second descending generation from ego

TABLE III

SMITH'S KIN TERM PARADIGM: after his reasoning

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL		AFFINAL			
	male	female	male	female	male		female	
+2	sɛci	sɛcuɛ						
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛ?a	sąk?iɛ	sɛ?a		sɛcu	
					ms	ws	ws	ms
			sonatɛ	sarɛ				
0			(e)	(e)				
	EGO							
			sɛtčɛlɛ	sɛdɛzɛ	sɛtɛ	sɛčai	sɛtɛ	sɛco
			(y)	(y)				
-1	sɛ'azɛ	sɛkazɛ						
		sɛlinazɛ	sazɛ	sarazɛ				
-2	sɛθuazɛ							
	sonatazɛ							

SHARP'S KIN TERM PARADIGM: after his 1977 reasoning

	DIRECT		COLLATERAL		AFFINAL			
	male	female	male	female	male	female		
+2	not presented							
+1	sɛta	ɛnɛ	sɛ?a	sɛcu				
	sunara	sari			ms	fs	fs	ms
0	(e)	(e)		sɛla				
	sɛčɛla	sɛdɛzɛ			sɛri	set	sɛri	sɛcu
	(y)	(y)				ci		
-1	sɛ'azɛ	sɛlɛa	sunɛs	sarazɛ	sazɛ		sazɛ	
-2	not presented							

TABLE III

MACNEISH'S KIN TERM PARADIGM: after her reasoning

	PARALLEL				CROSS			
	male		female		female		male	
+2	**sɛci**		**sɛcɥɛ**					
+1	**sɛta**		**ɛnɛ**		**sɛcɥ**		**sɛʔa**	
	sɛta zɛ							
	sɛʔa		**sarɛ(e)**		ms	fs	fs	ms
0	**sonatɛ(e)**				**secuaze**	**sɛtɛ**	**sɛçai**	**sɛtɛ**
	sɛcɛlɛ(y)		**sɛdɛzɛ(y)**					
					ms	fs	fs	ms
-1	**siʾazɛ**		**sɛlɛynazɛ**					
					sazɛ	**sara**	**sɛčai**	**sazɛ**
						zɛ		
	ms	fs	ms	fs				
-2	**sɛθuɛ**	**sonatɛ**	**sɛθuɛ**	**sarazɛ**				

TABLE IV

COMPONENTS BY AUTHOR

1. SMITH (1982)		
	+2	Sex, generation
	+1	Sex, generation; lineal vs. collateral + affinal terms
	0	Sex, generation, relative age; relative sex, ablineal+ colineal vs. affinal
	-1	Sex, generation; lineal vs. collateral + affinal
	-2	Sex, generation
2.SHARP (1977)		
	+2	Not given
	+1	Sex, generation; lineal vs. collateral + affinal
	0	Sex, generation, relative age; relative sex, ablineal vs. colineal vs. affinal
	-1	Sex, generation; relative sex, lineal vs. collateral + affinal
	-2	Male data only.
3. MACNEISH (1960)		
	+2	Sex, generation
	+1	Sex, generation,nature of intervening sex link (same vs. cross)
	0	Sex, generation; relative age, relative sex, nature of intervening sex link (same vs. cross)
	-1	Sex, generation, relative sex, nature of intervening sex link (same vs. cross)
	-2	Sex, generation

TABLE V

RUSHFORTH'S DATA (1984)

Term	Range	Statement
Second Ascending Generation		
ehtse	a+a+m	male, second ascending generation from ego
ehtsin	a+a+f	female, second ascending generation from ego
First Ascending Generation		
seta setan	a+m a+m0m a+f0f=m a+f0m a+m0f=m	male, first ascending generation from ego
se'e	f+f0m f+m0f=m f=m+m	male, first ascending generation from ego, nature of intervening sex link (cross)
senon senoon	a+f a+m0f a+m0f a+f0f a+f0m=f a+m0m=f	female, first ascending generation from ego
sebee	m+m0f m+f0m=f a=b+f	female, first ascending generation from ego, nature of intervening sex link (cross)
Ego's generation		
sedenli	f=m	husband
sets'ekue	m=f	wife

TABLE V

RUSHFORTH'S DATA (1984)

Term		Range	Statement
Ego's generation			
sonde	e	a0m	male, elder than ego, same
	e	a+f0f-m	generation as ego
	e	a+m0m-m	
	e	a+m0f-m	
	e	a+f0m-m	
sechile			
	y	a0m	male, younger than ego, same
	y	a+m0f-m	generation as ego
	y	a+f0f-m	
	y	a+m0m-m	
	y	a+f0m-m	
sedade			
	e	a0f	female, elder than ego, same
	e	a+m0m-f	generation as ego
	e	a+f0f-f	
	e	a+m0f-f	
	e	a+f0m-f	
sede			
	y	a0f	female, younger than ego,
	y	a+m0m-f	same generation as ego
	y	a+f0m-f	
	y	a+m0f-f	
	y	a+f0f-f	
seye		m0m=f	relative sex of speakerto
		m0m=f0f	alter, same generation as
		m=f0f	ego, nature of intervening
		f0f=m	sex link (cross)
		f0f=m0m	
		f=m0m	
sela		f0m=f	relative sex of speaker to
		f0m=f0f	alter, same generation as
		f=m0f	ego, nature of intervening

TABLE V

RUSHFORTH'S DATA (1984)

Term	Range	Statement
<u>Ego's generation</u>		
sela	m0f=m m0f=m0m m=f0m	sex link (cross)
<u>Descending generations</u>		
seya	a-m a0m-m a0f-m m=f-m f=m-m	male, first descending generation from ego
seba	a0m-m a0f-m a0m-f a0f-f a+m0m-m-m a+m0m-m-f a+m0f-m-f a+m0f-m-m a+m0m-m-m a+m0f-m-f	first descending generation from ego
setue	a-f a0m-f a0f-f m=f-f f=m-f	female, first descending generation from ego
sekwi	m-m=f m0m-m=f m0f-m=f	relative sex of speaker to alter, first descending generation from ego, nature of intervening sex link (cross)

TABLE V

RUSHFORTH'S DATA (1984)

Term	Range	Statement
Descending generations		
sechaa	f-m=f f0m-m≠f f0f-m=f f0f-m=f f-a-f	relative sex of speaker to alter, descending generation from ego, nature of intervening sex link (cross)
seedon	a-f=m a0m-f=m a0f-f=m	male, first descending generation from ego, nature of intervening sex link (cross)